


PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS
UPON THE
ACCEPTANCE OF THE STATUE
OF
OLIVER P. MORTON
PRESENTED BY
THE STATE OF INDIANA



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PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

UPON THE

ACCEPTANCE OF THE STATUE

OF

OLIVER P. MORTON,

PRESENTED BY

THE STATE OF INDIANA.



WASHINGTON:
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.
1900.

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION to authorize the printing and binding of the proceedings in Congress upon the acceptance of the statue of OLIVER P. MORTON, presented by the State of Indiana.

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there be printed and bound of the proceedings in Congress upon the acceptance of the statue of the late Oliver P. Morton, presented by the State of Indiana, sixteen thousand five hundred copies, of which five thousand shall be for the use of the Senate, ten thousand for the use of the House of Representatives, and the remaining one thousand five hundred shall be for use and distribution by the governor of Indiana; and the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby directed to have printed an engraving of said statue to accompany said proceedings, said engraving to be paid for out of the appropriation for the Bureau of Engraving and Printing.

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ACCEPTANCE OF THE STATUE OF OLIVER P. MORTON.

PROCEEDINGS IN THE SENATE.

APRIL 14, 1900.

Mr. FAIRBANKS. Mr. President, I ask that the communication from the governor of Indiana may be laid before the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PETTUS in the chair). If there is no objection, the communication will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, STATE OF INDIANA,
Indianapolis, Ind., December 14, 1899.

To the members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:

GENTLEMEN: In pursuance of a provision of the Federal statutes, section 1814, Revised Statutes of the United States, the general assembly of the State of Indiana enacted a law which was approved on the 27th of February, 1897, authorizing the governor of the State to appoint a commission to procure a statue of Oliver P. Morton, late governor of Indiana, to be placed in the National Statuary Hall at Washington, D. C.

In obedience to this statute the governor appointed Hon. Charles E. Shiveley, Hon. Oliver T. Morton, and Hon. Addison C. Harris to constitute such commission.

Upon the death of Hon. Oliver T. Morton and the appointment of Hon. Addison C. Harris as minister to Austria-Hungary, Judge Elijah B. Martindale and Hon. Henry C. Pettit were appointed to succeed them on said commission.

This commission having filed in my office its report showing that the members thereof have discharged their duties, I therefore, in behalf of the State of Indiana, and through the delegation in the National Congress from this State, convey to the care and custody of the United States Government this modest tribute of the everlasting esteem of this great State for the inestimable services rendered, not only to the State but to the National Government as well, by Indiana's great war governor, peerless statesman, and matchless Senator.

Respectfully,

JAMES A. MOUNT,
Governor of Indiana.

Mr. FAIRBANKS. Mr. President, I offer the concurrent resolutions which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The concurrent resolutions will be read.

The concurrent resolutions were read by the Secretary, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the statue of OLIVER P. MORTON, presented by the State of Indiana, to be placed in Statuary Hall, is accepted in the name of the United States, and that the thanks of Congress be tendered the State for the contribution of the statue of one of the most eminent citizens and illustrious statesmen of the Republic.

Second, That a copy of these resolutions, suitably engrossed and duly authenticated, be transmitted to the governor of the State of Indiana.

ADDRESS OF MR. FAIRBANKS.

Mr. President, the Senate of the United States pauses in the consideration of the important routine business of the country to accept a tribute from the State of Indiana—a statue of OLIVER PERRY MORTON.

That statue is to stand in yonder venerable Hall of Representatives, now tenanted by the mute images of the chiefest jewels of the Republic. Assembled there are the marble figures of eminent and renowned citizens, soldiers, and statesmen, whose luminous deeds are a part of the familiar history of the country. In good time representatives of each of the sisterhood of States of the Union will be gathered there, and the number will equal the membership roll of the United States Senate. Parties may come and go, Administrations may rise and fall, but no change will occur in the members who join the select assembly in that exalted and historic Hall.

The State of Indiana has an ample roll of distinguished statesmen who have served her well; of soldiers who won imperishable renown upon the battlefields of their country; of those who have attained high place in the world of letters and have achieved eminence in other avenues of honorable distinction, but, without invidious discrimination, she makes her present, and first, contribution to Statuary Hall.

OLIVER PERRY MORTON was one of the commanding figures of the United States during the most heroic period of her history. He impressed himself upon his State and nation by the force of his commanding genius, and the history of neither State nor nation would be complete without the story of his life and work.

He was born in the village of Salisbury, Wayne County, Ind., on the 4th day of August, 1823. His parents were natives of New Jersey, and of English ancestry. His father, James S. Throck Morton, was a man of worth and of more than ordinary force of character and intelligence. His admiration of military heroism led him to name his son OLIVER PERRY HAZARD THROCK MORTON. Throckmorton is the original family name, to which a number of the descendants still adhere. When prepared to enter upon the practice of the law, the son was persuaded that so many baptismal names might impede his progress at the bar, so he subscribed himself and was thenceforth known as OLIVER P. MORTON.

His mother died soon after his birth, and he was committed to the care of relatives, who bequeathed to him their small patrimony, which was of great assistance to him in obtaining an education.

His training was tempered with indulgence, but he repaid care with affectionate devotion. He was a precocious youth, and was inspired to personal ambition by his exceptionally fortunate surroundings.

The people of Wayne County, among whom MORTON was born and reared, were and always have been characterized by a high order of intelligence. They have been a Christian people, exalting law and order and holding religion and knowledge as the chief instruments in the advancement of civilization. They have been intensely patriotic and liberty loving. The institution of human slavery was repugnant to them, and they were strongly antislavery prior to the civil war. The "underground railroad" had many stations in that part of the State, where countless colored refugees found succor and asylum in their search for liberty.

The story of MORTON's youth is familiar to those who have

lived amidst pioneer surroundings. It is the story of many of those who have achieved place and power in the history of the Republic. He did not have the disadvantage of rich birth and exalted parentage, which too often stunt ambition, but was born on a level with the great mass of his countrymen, and was inspired by their hopes and aspirations and impressed by their struggles and self-denials. The loftiest character is a flower which blooms among the stern realities of life.

He had an early passion for knowledge, and bent all his energies to attain an education. The facilities offered the youth were meager at best, but he availed himself of them to the utmost. He early determined to become a lawyer and devoted his energies to that end. Upon his entrance to the bar he dedicated himself to the work of his chosen profession with diligence and determination.

He impressed himself upon the bar and the bench as a forceful lawyer and of more than ordinary promise. He was conscious from the beginning of the inadequacy of his preparation for a profession most exacting in its requirements. He was early called to the bench, and, feeling the insufficiency of his equipment, entered a law school, and after a term spent there assumed his judicial duties. He was too conscientious to sit in judgment in the causes of his neighbors without the amplest preparation. He was not deterred by any foolish sense of false pride from going back to acquire knowledge of which he felt himself deficient. In this instance was manifested his leading characteristic—loyal, conscientious preparation for the proper discharge of every trust.

After a brief period of service upon the bench he returned to the bar, which offered a wider and more congenial field for the display of his genius. His greatest powers were enlisted in the arena of combat.

MORTON was born and reared a Democrat, but ceased to affiliate with the Democratic party after the adoption of the Kansas-Nebraska compromise. He became one of the founders of the Republican party, and was elected lieutenant-governor on the Republican ticket in 1860 with Henry S. Lane, and upon the elevation of the latter to the United States Senate, in January following, succeeded to the chief executive's chair. No governor ever assumed the reins of government under more embarrassing or discouraging circumstances.

The storm which was fast gathering over the country was soon to break with terrific fury. Threats of "secession" and "compromise" filled the air. The governor's attitude was at no time in doubt. He had expressed his views a few weeks prior to his inauguration, in a speech of remarkable power. "If South Carolina gets out of the Union," said he, "I trust it will be at the point of the bayonet after our best efforts have failed to compel her submission to the laws. Better concede her independence to force, to revolution, than to right and principle. * * * Seven years is but a day in the life of a nation, and I would rather come out of a struggle at the end of that time defeated in arms and conceding independence to successful revolution than purchase present peace by the concession of a principle that must inevitably explode this nation into small and dishonored fragments."

To realize the full significance of this trenchant and brave utterance we must return to the time and circumstance in which it was uttered. These were the words of courageous statesmanship, uttered at the threshold of a mighty crisis, and were a trumpet call to heroic duty.

When MORTON became governor the State was in financial straits; its credit was sorely impaired, and a low sense of civic duty pervaded many of the departments of the State govern-

ment. There was no militia worth the mentioning, and there was no serviceable equipment with which to supply volunteers, which were to be so soon and so greatly needed.

The fall of Sumter and the President's call for 75,000 troops stirred the patriotic ardor of the State. Before he was advised of the call, the governor tendered the President, on behalf of Indiana, 10,000 men "for the defense of the nation, and to uphold the authority of the Government." Within a week he had in the camp more than twice Indiana's quota of men. Within twelve days after the fall of Sumter he had convened the legislature in extra session, and \$2,000,000 was appropriated for the organization and equipment of the militia necessary for the protection of the State.

We have passed—

said he, in his message to the legislature—

from the field of argument to the solemn fact of war. * * * It is the imperative duty of all men to rally to the support of the Government, and to extend in its behalf, if need be, their fortunes and their ability. * * * The struggle is one into which we enter with the deepest reluctance. We are bound to the people of the seceding States by the dearest ties of blood and institutions; they are our brothers and fellow-countrymen; but while we deplore the character of the contest in which we are engaged, nevertheless we should meet it as men.

He realized, and in advance of most others, the true and tremendous significance of the incipient secession movement; that it meant a mighty struggle, and that it would involve the expenditure of blood and treasure he fully appreciated; that a grave emergency was at hand and that the future of the Republic would tremble in the balance he clearly foresaw. He did not doubt the result of the issue, but he favored energetic and speedy preparation to meet it. When others wavered he was firm, and when others doubted he was certain. Compromise was impossible, for right and wrong opposed each other. Free-

dom and slavery were engaged for the mastery; there could be no compromise.

The task he undertook was herculean. There were many who were not in sympathy with the Union cause. Strong men, possessing a large measure of public confidence, were either openly or secretly opposed to his course and plotting against him. For a time the unseen forces which permeated the State were more subtle and dangerous than those in open arms. The governor was not caught unprepared. By ceaseless vigilance he anticipated every attack which treason about him planned. His life was frequently in serious peril, but he was providentially spared for the great work for which he was so well suited.

When the governor was without funds to support the affairs of the State, through the failure of a hostile and disloyal legislature to perform its duty, he borrowed money upon his personal responsibility and preserved the faith and credit of the State. The emergency was great, and it required a man of commanding force and ability to meet it.

The governor always loyally supported President Lincoln, and was one of his wise and trusted counselors, a forceful coadjutor. The President knew that he had in him one whose aid was potential and at his instant command.

He promptly met every demand of the President as though it had been anticipated by him. He enlisted and equipped, from first to last, more than 200,000 soldiers. They were the pick and flower of the State, and with the sword wrote a high record among heroic men.

He was, indeed, the soldiers' friend. His duty to them was not done when they had enlisted and marched to the front; it was but begun. His watchful eye was over them wherever they went, and he constantly and in every manner possible ministered to their comfort. He furnished them supplies, organized an

efficient sanitary commission, and his physicians and nurses were promptly upon the field wherever Indiana soldiers were engaged. Immediately after the terrific battle of Shiloh he went to the front to make sure that all that human agency could do was done for those who had suffered in that dreadful conflict.

His solicitude for the soldiers was realized by them as they marched away from home down to the battlefields of the Republic. They appreciated it in the storm of conflict, and at its close they saw it in his generous welcome upon their return; they felt it when he sat in the nation's chief council chamber.

The soldiers of Indiana observe each anniversary of the death of MORTON by some suitable and impressive ceremonial. They delight to honor his memory and to recount his deeds and achievements.

Obstacles did not deter him; opposition did not dissuade or discourage him; they but added strength to his arm and determination to his will. Duty! duty! thundered in his soul, and he was loyal to its supreme mandates.

Having served his State through her crucial period, he was elected by his party a United States Senator. He had accomplished all that was required of him in the old field; his abilities were needed in the new, to which the numerous and serious questions growing out of the war were transferred.

He brought to the Senate in March, 1867, a national reputation, a record of conspicuous and honorable achievements. He had attained to the foremost rank among the group of illustrious war governors whose splendid services in a great crisis are indelibly impressed upon the history of their time. He entered this exalted Chamber a tried and trusted tribune.

For ten years this was the theater of his tremendous energies. They were years filled with momentous questions. No more weighty or complex problems have ever engaged the

attention of the country than those which immediately followed the close of the civil war. There were in the Senate when MORTON entered as profound statesmen as the country has produced. There have been none better or more suited to the hour than he in the nation's history. It is a happy circumstance in the history of our Government that the man and the hour always meet. Grave questions seem to beget the men to meet them.

Although when Mr. MORTON entered the Senate he was within the grasp of cruel disease which might prove fatal at any moment, he assumed the weighty burdens of his great office with serenity and with undaunted courage. He held a commission from his State; he had a duty to perform, and nothing could stay his purpose. He worked unceasingly. When others faltered he kept on, resolved to give the best he had and all he had to the State. The world little knew the battle he had with an insidious disease—the fight he had with death. He seemed to bid it defiance. A nation which had emerged from the fiery baptism of war must be put upon the highway of enduring peace; States must be restored to full fellowship in the Union; a race must be secured in the rights of citizenship; provision was to be made for the widow and the orphan by a grateful Republic. He had no time to parley with death.

There are colleagues of Mr. MORTON in the Senate who remember as though it were but yesterday how the Senator was borne into this Chamber in his chair and how he delivered his great speeches seated there. He commanded the respectful attention of the Senate and of the country when he spoke. He was an antagonist not to be lightly engaged, for he always went into battle with a well-filled quiver; he never spoke flippantly nor in idle jest, but seriously and

soberly in the cause where his conscience commanded; "he could no other." He possessed convictions, and convictions possessed him.

The labors of Senator MORTON in the committee room and in the Senate were prodigious. Night and day he wrought on, regardless of his physical infirmities, manifesting to the world the sublimest moral heroism. He was made of the elements of which martyrs are made, and would have gone to the stake for opinion's sake.

The records of the Senate bear the amplest testimony to the extent and merit of his work. He was neither a trimmer nor a timeserver and neither avoided nor evaded issues. No matter what the issue, he met it courageously, fearlessly. During his service in the Senate he participated in all the more important debates which engaged its attention. He was an aggressive and zealous advocate of the policy of reconstruction. It was largely due to his championship that the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution were adopted.

His final service marked, perhaps, his most conspicuous service in the Senate. The disputed result of the Presidential election in 1876 menaced the security of the Republic. Wise and able statesmen of the Republican and Democratic parties advocated the creation of a tribunal which should determine the serious questions in dispute. Senator MORTON sharply differed with his leading party associates as to the necessity and wisdom of an electoral commission and enforced his views with his accustomed power and vigor; but when defeated he loyally accepted the result and took a seat upon the commission, where he served with commanding ability under circumstances which verged upon the pathetic.

Stricken with remorseless disease and rapidly approaching the end of his illustrious life, he consecrated himself com-

pletely to the cause he regarded so vital to his country. His colleague, Senator McDonald, an upright citizen and able statesman, but sharply opposed to him politically, thus spoke of his services which really crown his career:

His labors on the electoral commission during the eventful period when it seemed as if the very foundations of our Government were in danger of being uprooted are vividly remembered by all. Physically disabled, yet he was everywhere present; borne to his committee room, carried to this Chamber, lifted to his seat in the electoral commission by the strong arms of others, there remaining into the long, dreary hours of the night, tireless among the tired, pressing on where strong men gave way, he presents a picture that may well excite our wonder and challenge our admiration, and for which history furnishes no example.

Senator MORTON died in November, 1877. Then closed "a life of great occasions greatly used." His work was, perhaps, complete, though his ambition had not been fully gratified. He had aspired to the Presidency of the United States. At the convention of his party held in Cincinnati in 1876 he was one of the leading candidates for that exalted office, and his candidacy commanded everywhere the most respectful consideration. His long service to his State and to the United States and his complete equipment for the high office spoke most strongly in his behalf, but his physical disabilities were recognized by the country as a serious if not insuperable obstacle to his nomination. His State gave him aggressive and loyal support, which he considered, using his own words, "a greater honor than the Presidency itself."

MORTON possessed marked executive ability. He was an organizer of unusual power. He could have filled the important post of Secretary of War quite as acceptably to the country as the great Secretary, Mr. Stanton.

He could have set an army in the field and have led it to victory. He had the faculty of inspiring those about him with confidence in the integrity of his purpose and in his capacity to win success.

He was strong in his personal attachments; intensely loyal in his friendships. He surrounded himself with men of ability, to whom he was true. He had no treachery in his heart; he exacted only that which he gave, loyalty and fidelity, and these he demanded in full measure.

He was a total stranger in the arts of the demagogue. He was too great to descend to intrigue or to desire success otherwise than through the merit and force of his cause. He was frequently the object of the envy and the intrigue of men; but all efforts to strike him down were futile, and his character was rendered the more luminous by the harmless attempts to destroy it. No dishonorable act detracts from his fame. His hands were clean, his integrity incorruptible. He was a bold but chivalrous political antagonist, for his sense of honor was acute. His political adversaries, at the time of his death, paid tribute to his stainless and exalted purpose.

He was regarded and ranked as an intense partisan, and such he was. He had an abiding faith in the virtue of his party and of its beneficence as an instrument in promoting good government. He was its steadfast supporter in good and evil report, for he felt that it was the promise and fulfillment of the highest and most enduring good to the State.

Mr. MORTON was a speaker of great power, though he made no pretense of being an orator. He was of commanding and agreeable presence, and possessed a voice strong and resonant. He was singularly gifted in the faculty of cogent, lucid statement. He was given little to mere ornamentation, or to graceful flights of the imagination, or to the enrichment of what he said by drawing upon literature, in the best of which he was well versed.

His speeches were typical of his own character—dignified, direct, solid, massive. They were wrought out with almost

infinite care and patience, and many of his utterances will endure among the best specimens of American oratory. His celebrated speech on the reconstruction of the Union was perhaps his masterpiece, and a fit complement of Webster's reply to Hayne. Webster spoke with uncommon power and with burning zeal against the heresy of disunion.

Said he:

When my eyes shall be turned to behold for the last time the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on States dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! * * * Liberty and union, now and forever one and inseparable.

The argument and passionate appeal of Webster were unavailing. The great and vital issue on which he spoke was transferred from the forum of the Senate to the battle-fields of the Republic, and there the indestructibility of the Union for which he contended with a Titan's strength was forever determined.

The scene which Webster so much dreaded came to pass. Broken and bleeding States were to be restored to the Union. The task was one of uncommon gravity. The erection of republican State governments upon the ruins of the seceded States required comprehensive statesmanship. What were to be the terms and conditions of the complete restoration of the States to the Union? They must be dictated by an exalted sense of justice and equity. MORTON whipped with scorn—

the appeal of prejudice of race against race; the endeavor to excite the strong against the weak; the effort to deprive the weak of their right of protection against the strong.

The column of reconstruction—

said he—

has risen slowly. It has not been hewn from a single stone. It is composed of many blocks painfully laid up and put together, and cemented

by the tears and blood of the nation. * * * Our principles are those of humanity; they are those of justice; they are those of equal rights; they are those which appeal to the hearts and consciences of men. * * * We are standing upon the broad platform of the Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." We say that these rights are not given by laws, are not given by the Constitution, but that they are the gift of God to every man born into the world.

When he indulged in figure of speech he added force and grace to his argument.

What the sun is in the heavens—
said he—

diffusing light and life and warmth, and by its subtle influence holding the planets in their orbits and preserving the harmony of the universe, such is the sentiment of nationality in a people, diffusing life and protection in every direction, holding the faces of Americans always toward their homes, protecting the States in the exercise of their just powers, and preserving the harmony of all.

The supremacy of the nation is thus beautifully expressed:

The States are but subordinate parts of one great nation. * * * The Nation is over all, even as God is over the universe.

He was always heard with attention whenever and wherever he spoke. He spoke to the consciences and judgments of men; he spoke from conviction to win converts to a cause which he deemed to be righteous. He was attended at the hustings by vast assemblages of his countrymen, who were drawn not by mere tinsel but by the solidity and strength of his argument and the force of his character. The people knew that back of the word was a heart, a conscience, a conviction, a man.

Mr. President, the State of Indiana commits to the keeping of the United States the statue of OLIVER PERRY MORTON, to be preserved so long as the fabric of our political institutions shall endure. She commits it with affectionate

pride, believing that those who shall follow us in the stately procession of the years to come will guard it in perpetual remembrance of one who gave his best years, yea, life itself, in unselfish, unceasing devotion to the mighty task of preserving the unity and honor of his country.

I can readily believe that were it possible for the statues of Samuel Adams, Ethan Allen, John Stark, and Roger Sherman to utter speech, yea, if George Washington, Daniel Webster, James A. Garfield, and the other occupants of our American pantheon, of patriots and immortals the greatest, could breathe through their marble forms, they would say: Hail, hail, thou brave and incorruptible patriot, thou loyal vicegerent of the people in the perilous hours of the Republic.

ADDRESS OF MR. ALLISON.

Mr. President, it was my fortune to serve for some years with Senator MORTON in this Chamber and to know much of him before he became a member of this body. I was here during the last years of his life, and was present at the impressive memorial services in his honor held in this Chamber, and now, when many years have passed away and when the antagonisms and prejudices which existed during the period of his active service are forgotten, it is a pleasure to me to speak briefly on the occasion when the Government of the United States, in pursuance of law, is to accept from the great State of Indiana a statue of this distinguished man.

These proceedings have their origin in section 1814 of the Revised Statutes, which is, in part, as follows:

* * * And the President is authorized to invite all the States to provide and furnish statues, in marble or bronze, not exceeding two in number for each State, of deceased persons who have been citizens thereof, and illustrious for their historic renown or for distinguished civic or military services, such as each State may deem to be worthy of this national commemoration; and when so furnished the same shall be placed in the Old Hall of the House of Representatives in the Capitol of the United States, which is set apart, or so much thereof as may be necessary, as a National Statuary Hall for the purpose herein indicated.

The law thus carried into the Revised Statutes was passed in 1864, a few years after the new Hall of the House of Representatives was ready for occupancy. Various projects were suggested for the use of the old Hall thus vacated. The late Senator Morrill, of Vermont, then a distinguished

member of the House, who soon after became a member of this body, and whose memory we still cherish, presented a plan for the use of the old Hall of the House, now embodied in the section of the Revised Statutes quoted by me, giving various reasons therefor, but stating that, above all these, it would afford an opportunity to all the States of the Union to select from their citizens the most distinguished in the service of their State or of the nation.

The law provides that the statue of no living person shall have a place in that Hall, and, although thirty-six years have passed since its dedication, only ten States have thus far availed themselves of the opportunity to present here for our approval and acceptance statues of two of their citizens so distinguished as to be worthy of such an honor. Six other States have each provided one statue.

It was not difficult for the original thirteen States or for the States which came into the Union soon after the beginning of this century to select eminent men to be represented. The newer States are not so fortunate in having an opportunity to present eminent historical representatives of their States; and it is probable that many years will pass before this representation shall be completed within the spirit and purpose of the original dedication.

The statues already here from the older States are largely those of men distinguished for their eminent service to the country during and immediately following the Revolutionary period, thus recognizing that the spirit of the law requires that the selections shall be made at a period so remote from that in which those represented here lived that the antagonisms, the prejudices, and the contentions of the active period of their lives will have passed away, so that those making the selection could impartially pass upon their work as fitting them espe-

cially for this distinction. In this spirit Massachusetts has selected Winthrop and Adams; New York, Clinton and Livingston, and Wisconsin, Marquette, whose history is so familiar to us all. Indiana, though not one of the original thirteen States, was early admitted into the Union, and its history furnishes the names of many men of great ability who achieved distinction in the annals of the State and of the nation. It has selected from among these OLIVER P. MORTON for this high honor, and his statue is now presented by the State for acceptance, thereby expressing as the judgment of the State that of all the departed sons of Indiana, OLIVER P. MORTON was the most distinguished and most worthy of a place in the National Statuary Hall; and those who will study the character and the story of his career, as found in the work he performed and his participation in the great events of the time in which he lived, will approve the selection.

The senior Senator from Indiana [Mr. Fairbanks] has analyzed the character of Senator MORTON and delineated with such fullness of detail his work and his participation in the great public questions in which he bore so conspicuous a part, as to leave but little to be said by those who follow him in these exercises. It is enough for me to say that, without having the advantages and opportunities of our modern life, he so devoted himself to the study of books and of men and affairs as to make him at an early age a marked character among all those with whom he came in contact.

Nominated as lieutenant-governor of Indiana in the fall of 1860 on a ticket with Henry S. Lane, who then deservedly had a great reputation in the State, both were elected. The legislature in the early winter electing Governor Lane to the Senate, he immediately resigned the office of governor. By this resignation Mr. MORTON became governor of the State at a perilous

period in the history of our country. This elevation to the governorship gave him an opportunity for the display of the highest executive ability and enabled him to win the distinction of being among the greatest, if not the greatest, of the war governors of that period.

Indiana was so located geographically as to make it necessary that she should prepare at once in the most vigorous way to play her part in the civil war, beginning early in the year 1861. In addition to the location of the State in the Union, because of the character of its population there was a wide difference of opinion as to the duty of its citizens respecting the part it should take in the civil war. The leaders of one party were opposed to the war and bitterly antagonized the aggressive and vigorous policy of the governor.

This hostility continued, so that in the middle of his term a legislature was elected which in its majority was hostile politically to all the measures which he deemed necessary for the preservation and protection of the State and for the preservation of the Union itself. That legislature absolutely refused to appropriate money to carry on the ordinary operations of the State; it left all of its public institutions without appropriations for their support, and it failed to make appropriations for the military establishment of the State, thus compelling Governor MORTON, in addition to his duties respecting military operations, to take the responsibility of pledging the credit of the State and his own credit to raise money to provide the necessary means to carry on the State institutions. He did not hesitate to take the responsibility, but he instantly pledged the credit of the State, relying upon its people, when another election should occur, to vindicate his conduct and pay the obligations thus created by him.

He was not disappointed in this reliance, for he was triumph-

antly reelected governor of the State. At the same election a legislature was chosen which was in absolute sympathy with his policy and his purposes, and arrangements were made for the full discharge of every obligation, I am assured, with the approval of the vast majority of the people of the State. His energy, activity, and vigor during that period strongly attached him to President Lincoln and the great War Secretary, Stanton, and he had the full confidence and approval of both.

When he entered this Chamber on the 4th of March, 1867, he was no stranger. His personality and his achievements preceded him. He brought with him a national reputation as pronounced and distinguished as that of any other man who ever entered this Hall—a national reputation achieved by the universal knowledge of the important services he had rendered the country as governor of Indiana during the most trying and turbulent period in our history.

The civil war had ended two years before, but the States lately in rebellion were still under military control and authority, and there was a wide difference of opinion as to their true relation to the Union. One party insisted that when the war ended the States in rebellion were entitled to be restored to the Union with full representation in both Houses of Congress, without condition or limitation, as though the war had not taken place. Another party insisted that the Government of the United States could impose such conditions and limitations upon the restoration of those States as Congress might deem wise for the protection of all the inhabitants in their civil and political rights, and as would also insure the preservation of the union of all the States.

As then was true in respect to the attitude of the two political parties, there was a wide divergence among Republicans of that period as to what the conditions should be and what limi-

tations should be placed upon the States as conditions of their restoration.

But there arose out of the war other pressing questions of great importance to our country. Our finances were in a disordered condition; our currency was such as to make business always a matter of doubt, requiring those who bought and those who sold to pay tribute and penalty to the money changers and to those who dealt in money. So during the period of Senator MORTON'S service these large questions were the subjects of continued discussion and debate.

Congress met on the 4th of March, 1867, when Senator MORTON was sworn in as a member of this body. On the second day of the session Mr. Sumner, of Massachusetts, introduced a series of resolutions relating to the readmission of the Southern States into the Union, and made a speech in explanation of those resolutions. They were laid upon the table. One week after Senator MORTON became a member of this body he called the resolutions from the table, and on the 12th of March made a speech upon the subject of reconstruction, which the Senator from Indiana in his speech just now characterized as second only to Webster's reply to Hayne. It was one of the most comprehensive discussions of the great question that was then pending as respects the restoration of the Union, and to my personal knowledge was listened to by a crowded Chamber of Senators and Representatives. It was after this speech that Mr. Sumner, I believe, stated that Governor MORTON was the first Senator who ever entered this body and mounted the saddle and led his party from the beginning of his official career. While this was only partially true, because there were then here many of the most eminent men of our country, who had long service and who were justly entitled to the leadership of great parties and were leaders of men, it must be admitted that

from that moment OLIVER P. MORTON was one of the Senators who had to be reckoned with in debate, and he became one of the most powerful of the leaders here.

He was an active participant in the debates from that time forward, and advocated, as the Senator from Indiana has already said, the imposition of what he regarded as just conditions preliminary to the admission to representation in Congress of the States lately in revolt, favoring the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments as necessary to accomplish that purpose. He also favored the reconstruction legislation then placed upon our statute books preliminary to the readmission of those States. He was certainly one of the most active in securing the adoption of the joint resolutions submitting to the States for their ratification the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution. It was believed then that it was unfair to have the suffrage prohibited to the colored race and yet allow them to be counted as part of the basis of representation under the provisions of the Constitution. The fourteenth amendment was based upon the idea that representation and suffrage should go hand in hand, and where the one was denied a denial of the other should follow.

Governor MORTON took an active part in every phase of the question of restoration, and it may be truly said, as I have already said, that he was one of the most conspicuous men who pressed upon the country the policy finally adopted. Although this policy has often been criticised, as distinguished from that which proposed the restoration of the States without restrictions or conditions (and it is criticised even to-day), it is not possible now to say, even on the part of those critics, what would have followed a restoration based upon the idea that the moment the rebellion ceased that moment the States lately in rebellion could come back without condition or

limitation and participate in the government of the country as though no revolt had taken place. Governor MORTON was soon made chairman of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, always an important committee in this body, as we know it is now, but especially important then because of the questions arising upon the admission of Senators from the Southern States. That committee had charge practically of all the legislation relating to representation in this body following 1867.

Such was the activity of Mr. MORTON's mind that, although absorbed in this work, he was equally active as respects the finances of the country; and though not a member of the Finance Committee, he was active in shaping the policy of the Senate on every question affecting the finances during the period of his Senatorial service. It was claimed by many, after the close of the war, that the first step in the restoration of our disordered finances should be the funding of the greenbacks, to be followed by their cancellation. Mr. MORTON, early in his service here, vigorously antagonized this view, and held that they should be used as a part of our currency until the natural growth of the country in wealth would enable the Government to provide for their easy convertibility into gold; and he steadfastly adhered to this position during all of his service here.

In 1866 a law was passed providing for the gradual retirement and cancellation of the greenback circulation, which would have secured that cancellation in probably six or seven years. In 1868—Mr. MORTON took an important part in the debate—it was proposed that so much of this law as provided for the retirement of the greenbacks should be repealed, and that further cancellation of them should be prohibited. Mr. MORTON advocated this policy with vigor,

as I have said, and urged that the true way to deal with the question of the currency was to continue the paper issues of the Government in circulation until such time as the country would be restored to a condition of prosperity and they could be easily made convertible into gold at the will of the holder. The provision authorizing the cancellation was then repealed.

The question of the funding of the debt, so as to bear a lower rate of interest, was pressing. Mr. Sherman, of Ohio, brought forward from time to time measures looking to the refunding of the debt at a lower rate of interest, and also for the gradual retirement of the greenbacks as a necessary part of any plan looking to the restoration of specie payments. These measures were debated from year to year, Mr. MORTON always participating in them and always insisting that specie payments could only come with the growth of the country and by gradual processes. In 1874 a new question arose because of the extraordinary issue of \$27,000,000 of greenbacks during the panic of 1873. Mr. MORTON contended that under the law this was a legal exercise of power by the Secretary of the Treasury, and that a law should be passed affirming its legality; and such a law was passed under his leadership, and was vetoed by President Grant.

As a result of the elections of 1874 for members of the House of Representatives, the body which is elected by the people of the United States, the Democrats secured for the first time since 1860 a majority. By that time all the States had been restored to full representation in the Union, and the Democratic party for the first time, I repeat, had a majority in the House of Representatives. It was deemed necessary after the elections of 1874 that the Republican party should take some measure during the brief interval between the elections of 1874 and the

approaching Democratic House of March, 1875, to put our finances upon a basis of safety that would at least be satisfactory to the great body of the people of the United States. So when we came here in December, 1874, the Republicans held a caucus, and they resolved that during the short session an effort should be made to secure a financial measure looking to the restoration of specie payments. In order to accomplish that it was necessary that all shades of opinion in the Republican party should be consulted. A committee of eleven Senators was appointed for that purpose, and I suppose now, after the lapse of these long years, it is fair for me, in a sense at least, to disclose the secrets of the caucus, though I have known such secrets to be disclosed within two or three days after the meeting of a caucus.

That caucus resolved that an honest effort should be made to compose those differences. The leaders of public opinion, as respects the question of greenbacks, were the Hon. Mr. Edmunds, of Vermont, who wanted none of them, and the Hon. Mr. MORTON, of Indiana, who wanted to preserve them as a part of the currency of the United States. As I said, eleven men were selected. Finally, after two or three weeks, they prepared a plan of legislation looking to the restoration of specie payments, the phraseology of which was acceptable to Mr. Edmunds, who wanted to destroy the greenbacks, and to Mr. MORTON, who wanted to continue them. That legislation was submitted to this conference of Republicans, and after full consideration its provisions were unanimously assented to, although there was a great variety of opinion as to the true construction of the phraseology, and some of the provisions were unsatisfactory to many. But the caucus adopted the plan, placing then, as it places now, no restraint upon the individual judgment of any Senator, each being left free to follow

his own judgment and to vote for or against it. This bill became a law by a party vote in both Houses of Congress, and it is known as the resumption act of 1875.

Now, the marked difference between these two great minds was that each believed the Supreme Court would place upon the phraseology adopted the view which each entertained respecting that matter. Fortunately, however, or unfortunately, as the case may be, early in 1878 Congress passed a law forbidding the further retirement of the greenbacks, which afterwards the Supreme Court declared that it had the power to do; and thus the mooted question between these two lawyers—I mention it now because it is interesting historically—never could become a question of legal construction or interpretation by the Supreme Court.

The campaign of 1876 was most active, and although Mr. MORTON was in feeble health, he took a conspicuous part in it. When he returned here he found a contest impending as to the result of the election. The votes of South Carolina, Louisiana, and one vote from Oregon were in dispute, and as these votes were counted the result would be changed. There was no Vice-President to count the vote, that duty falling upon the President pro tempore, a Republican Senator from the State of Michigan. A joint committee was raised to deal with this question, embracing the ablest men of both political parties in the two Houses. My personal recollection is that Mr. MORTON strongly favored the selection of this committee, a joint committee of the two Houses. Its mission was to devise a method whereby the votes could be counted in such way as to be satisfactory to the friends of the two candidates. There was evolved from the joint committee of seven members of each House what was known as the electoral commission bill.

Every member of that committee, except the Senator from

Indiana, agreed to a favorable report upon that bill, and that alone is a sufficient illustration of the tenacity of his purpose and the resisting power he had, for there were upon that committee from both Houses the ablest and strongest men, including Senator Edmunds, of Vermont; Senator Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey; Senator Thurman, of Ohio, this being a committee composed of members of both political parties. But Senator MORTON insisted that the scheme they had devised was a plan which would inaugurate Mr. Tilden as President, when he knew that Mr. Hayes had been elected President. Therefore, with vigor in this Chamber he afterwards resisted the passage of that bill, which, however, receiving, as it did, the support of every Democrat but one and of nearly all the Republicans, became a law and a part of the history of this country.

It having been provided that that body should be composed of five Senators, five Representatives, and five justices of the Supreme Court, Mr. MORTON was selected as one of the representatives of the Senate upon the electoral commission to decide the question as to the disputed votes in the electoral college. The electoral votes as counted by the commission elected Mr. Hayes President, the vote on every sharply contested question being 8 for Mr. Hayes to 7 for Mr. Tilden. This action, I know, has often been criticised as partisan, but I never could quite understand how it was that the majority were partisan because they were Republicans, and the minority were patriots because they belonged to another party. The truth is, and I am only speaking historically, that the men who served upon that commission did so with a high sense of the duty they owed to their country and to the people of the country, and that their sole desire was to make a decision according to the right as they viewed the right.

Now, a moment of personal recollection. I think it was one of the saddest things to see Senator MORTON physically impaired while in the full vigor of his intellect, for I have never witnessed in this Chamber any Senator who could so clearly in the hurry of debate analyze the principle that underlies the argument of his opponent and in a few short sentences antagonize that principle and dissipate it. For ten years he was a member of this body, and I do not believe there was a single day in those ten years when he walked into this Chamber unaided, or that he ever entered this Capitol without the assistance of one or two attendants; yet he toiled on day by day and hour by hour, and sat here during the long vigils of the night when great debates were going on, taking his part effectively upon each and all these great questions, and upon every phase of them. Although during all the years of his service in the Senate he had an incurable malady upon him which impeded his power of locomotion, I believe that but for the services he rendered during the short period following the election of 1876 he might have been spared much longer to his country. But it was the drain and stress upon his mind and upon his physical system that hastened his death in the fall of 1877. He always spoke from his seat. His physical condition did not permit him to rise to speak in this Chamber. He sat there [indicating] and for a time there [indicating], but when he spoke he was always listened to.

Now, Mr. President, I have detailed my observation respecting Governor MORTON in this Chamber and his work here. I have merely attempted to briefly outline the career of this strong man, who played a conspicuous part in the great affairs of our country during sixteen years of its history, and who has left an imperishable monument of his power

as a leader, his ability as a statesman, and his earnest patriotism during that period. Indiana honors itself when it honors his memory by placing in Statuary Hall his statue, but in all the years which are to follow in the history of Indiana, of all the great men she has produced or may produce hereafter, the statue of only one of them can be placed beside that of OLIVER P. MORTON.

ADDRESS OF MR. BEVERIDGE.

Mr. President, great men are the instruments of God. They are His voice to the suffering, His shield to the oppressed, His hand for the building of nations. The Almighty needed his Maccabee, his Joshua, and his David as much as his John the beloved. Richelieu and Washington and Bismarck were his ministers as much as Luther or Wesley or Brooks. And just as truly was OLIVER P. MORTON one of the small group of mighty men who bore Heaven's commission to establish the imperishable nationality of the American people; and fidelity to that trust is the key to all he ever said or did or was.

I do not believe that inspiration is confined to the dreamer of dreams or the singer of songs. Inspiration may glorify the doer of deeds as well. In a sense OLIVER P. MORTON was inspired when, in the midst of doubt, hesitation, and beaconless purpose, he said, "I would rather come out of a seven years' struggle defeated in arms and conceding independence to successful revolution than to purchase present peace by the concession of a principle that must inevitably explode this nation into small and dishonorable fragments;" and, speaking thus, voiced the loyalty of the land to the flag of the nation. He was inspired when, on the very day and hour that Lincoln called for troops, he flashed back this message in response:

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT OF INDIANA,

April 15, 1861.

TO ABRAHAM LINCOLN, *President of the United States:*

On behalf of the State of Indiana, I tender to you for the defense of the nation and to uphold the authority of the Government 10,000 men.

OLIVER P. MORTON,

Governor of Indiana.

And, speaking thus, made disgraceful all delay and left only action glorious. He was inspired when he hurled regiment after regiment into battle with all of duty's heroic sternness, and inspired when he cared for and comforted those soldier boys with all a mother's tenderness for her suffering child. His sanitary commission was as holy as religion; his military agency was as sacred as the church; his bureau of finance an institution divinely blessed as an instrument of the great purposes of God.

All this was done in a holy cause. A single passionate belief inspired his life—a single irresistible resolution. A Nation in reality the American people ought to be, and a Nation in reality he would give his powers to make us. To the current of this great purpose every act and word and thought of OLIVER P. MORTON was tributary. His statesmanship was Nationality. His loves and hates, his hopes and fears, were incidents to the mighty thought that glorified his life and made him mighty as itself.

He was himself an argument for his cause. All great men are God's incarnations of national life. A man like MORTON makes sectional lines absurd. Washington was too great for Virginia; Hamilton too great for New York. Bismarck was too great for Prussia—he was, by divine right, the statesman of all the German people. And so we see that God has made all great men for *all* their people—not for a local subdivision of them. As civilization broadens, governments widen, men are great only as their powers and sympathies are large enough for all the people of their race. At the beginning the greatest man was great in his family alone. From families sprang communities. From communities grew petty states, and from these great nations, with all their possibilities of commerce and art, of interchangeable industry and mutual helpfulness, of united

power, collective achievement, the civilization of cooperation, the royalty of labor, and the sovereignty of citizenship. And so in the hearts of the common people the inspiration toward nationality ever dwells. It is their instinct of power. That is why the common people of every land respond to their Alfreds, their Lincolns, their Cavours, and their Mortons. These seers of statesmanship behold in a consolidated nationality the sovereignty of the people, the prosperity of the people, the happiness and safety of the people; and so the people hear them gladly. No man is great except he serves the people and becomes the visible expression of the people's better thought and higher purpose. He who thinks to be great by serving self alone is ambition's fool, trifling with the lightnings of fate.

And so it was to the establishment of the people's nationality that MORTON consecrated his giant powers. He was the Gibraltar of the Government in the West. Stanton and MORTON were the imperial wills that held aloft the hands of Lincoln until victory came. So far as deeds and facts could make it so, MORTON was Deputy President of the United States in active charge of the Ohio Valley. No man can tell what the result would have been had not some man like MORTON been what and where our MORTON was. Consider our position. Indiana was the keystone of the North. Indiana invaded, Chicago and Detroit taken, and the Confederate flag would have prevailed from lake to gulf. This territory was a necessary factor in any grand strategy the Confederacy might attempt. Portions of the State were gangrened with sympathy for the rebellion. The Knights of the Golden Circle, numbering 50,000 in Indiana, with \$200,000 for the purchase of arms, actually planned a military uprising. Powerful men hoped to see Indiana the open gateway by which the hosts of the stars and bars might split the North in twain. Suppose a commonplace man had been in

MORTON's place ! Think of the certain consequences had a Confederate sympathizer been the executive of this strategic State!

But OLIVER P. MORTON was Governor of Indiana, and, instead of an inward-swinging gate to the enemies of the Union, Indiana was made by MORTON an entering wedge for the rending of the Confederacy. He did more. He made Indiana an example for every loyal State. He obliterated State lines for the purpose of patriotism. Before Ohio had equipped a single man, MORTON had sent four regiments flying across her territory en route to Washington. The Confederates threatened Cincinnati. The proper authorities were laggard in responding ; the frightened city turned to MORTON. In fifteen hours 3,000 stand of arms, 24 pieces of artillery, with ammunition for both, two regiments of Indiana soldiers in Cincinnati's streets, proved that MORTON's patriotism knew not the boundaries of States.

Morgan crossed the Cumberland ; they wired the news to MORTON, and back the answer flew : "One regiment leaves to-night, another to-morrow, two more next day." He knew neither night nor day in his terrific activity. The Sixty-eighth and Sixty-ninth regiments were mustered in by candle-light and started to the front before the break of dawn. The Government needed ammunition. MORTON, on his own responsibility, established a great manufactory of the materials of war. Admiral Foote needed powder to bombard Fort Henry ; MORTON furnished it, and that stronghold fell. Most of the ammunition with which the battle of Shiloh was fought and won was supplied by MORTON. Indiana's soldiers needed overcoats ; the supply of the Government was short ; MORTON did not wait, but himself bought nearly 30,000 overcoats, paid for them, and, while the Government waited, Indiana's soldiers were kept warm. Indiana's treasury was empty from

the very start; MORTON raised on private paper more than \$4,000,000. Such were the deeds of MORTON. He was the Union's flaming sword all along the border. He was faith to the faltering, certainty to the doubtful, courage to the weak of heart, and an inspiration to every State and to every man throughout the entire nation. Such activity in other days would be called unbalanced, ill-considered, neurotic. But it is the tempest-like activity and the instantaneousness of action which genius always has.

And all this time men planned his death. More than once they sought his life; one time their bullet barely missed its mark. These were the only men that MORTON ever hated. He respected the enemy in the field—they were brave men fighting in a mistaken cause. But for the cowards who sought by stealth to kill the cause for which he had sent more than 200,000 Indiana boys to battle OLIVER P. MORTON had a hatred hot as the thunderbolts of God. Yet when their leaders, condemned to death, stood in the shadow of the gallows, MORTON interceded with the President and saved their lives—so close to the fountains of righteous wrath in the breast of this tender and heroic man the springs of mercy welled.

MORTON's whole career was based upon profound belief in the common people—not the theoretical belief of the doctrinaire, not the simulated belief of the demagogue; but the living, vital, human faith of one who in himself is of the people. That is why he was a Nationalist. That was why he sent that telegram to Lincoln the very hour the President called for troops—he believed the 10,000 men he tendered would respond. Faith is the heart of deeds. That was why he built arsenals, bought provisions, equipped a quarter of a million of men for war—he believed the people would sustain him. That was why he

pressed the ratification of the fourteenth amendment, and, as a Senator, the adoption and ratification of the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States. That was why he championed reconstruction, based, as he declared, "upon the everlasting principles of equal and exact justice to all men."

Nearly a quarter of a century ago MORTON proposed an amendment to the Constitution providing for the election of Presidents by the people. All his measures, all his deeds were based upon his faith in the people. He did not doubt, he did not underestimate the intelligence, the purity, and the patriotism of the masses. He did not believe in Matthew Arnold's doctrine of the "saving remnant." He knew that if this Republic is to be saved the plain people must do the saving; that when men get too far away from the soil they cease to love it enough to die for it. He knew that nearly all the heroes of Lexington and Concord, of Vicksburg and the Wilderness, were toilers before they were soldiers.

And so MORTON looked at every problem from the view point of the common people. He sprang from them—was one of them himself. His father was a shoemaker. He was himself a hatter. His association, till full manhood, was exclusively with the working classes. Let me again and again repeat that no one can understand OLIVER P. MORTON who forgets that, first of all, he believed profoundly in the plain people, whom Abraham Lincoln loved; and, second, that the passion of his life was to see this matchless people welded into an indivisible and immortal nation. These vast characters attract the people by a sort of law of moral gravitation. The people trust them by an instinct that passes the wisdom of formal thought. The people know that these great characters are the agents of the eternal verities, even, perhaps, unconsciously to those characters themselves.

Inspired by such a faith and such a purpose, he put his will into his thought, and instantly they were facts. And his was the kingliest will of that heroic period. After all, courage is the royal element of human character. Stricken with paralysis, this Indiana shoemaker's son, this child and lover of the common people, went from the governor's chair to the Senate, and there, without experience or wide learning, he instantly became the leader of that glorious company of intellect and spirit and learning. And what a Senate it was!—a Senate to be a mediocre member of which was to be a distinguished man! Sumner was there, Conkling was there, Thurman was there, Edmunds and Carpenter and Logan were there. Distinguished men of the nation who still are Senators of the Republic began their services with MORTON—warriors and scholars and lawyers and orators, some of them statesmen equal to the greatest the world has seen. It was a time when America pointed proudly to her Senate and said, "These are representatives of American courage and character and mind." And among them sat the Senator from Indiana, stricken unto death, yet lord and leader of those princes of the people.

And he knew that a republic can only be preserved by parties. He understood that principles were greater than personalities, and that a party standing for a principle is greater than any man standing for a personality. Therefore he was a partisan. A partisan like MORTON is one who believes in the sovereignty of an idea. A partisan like MORTON is one who would have theories reduced to practice. A partisan like MORTON is one whose faith in essential things dissolves his discontent with incidentals—whose loyalty to an eternal belief is greater than any temporary representative of that belief. All the world's achievers have been such partisans. From Savonarola to Luther, from Cromwell to Gladstone, from Washington

to Lincoln, the lords of human conviction and achievement have been for that very reason partisans of the cause they championed. Between a partisan of a cause and his opposite is all the difference between beliefs and interests, between convictions and investments, between a principle and an expedient. In this sense MORTON was a king of partisans. He was a partisan of principle; but he was not the puppet of a machine—a distinction frequently forgotten. No man honored a conviction that differed from his own more than did MORTON, the incarnation of conviction; no man so swift and terrible in wrath at wrong in his own party than he, its strongest leader.

America needs to-day more partisanship like that.

Courage and honesty, the gift of seeing things, and an appalling energy—these were the reenforcements that MORTON brought to the Union. He was a bridled hurricane. And he saw things with that clear vision which, in another age, would have made men call him a seer. MORTON saw through the hearts of men, understood the conclusion of the syllogism of events, and so beheld the flag of the American people—man's last experiment in liberty—saw that dear banner, carrying with it the destinies of his country and the hope of all mankind, sinking from sight in the smoke of rebellion.

And so, with a passion we can not understand in these cold days, he spoke and wrought. But Indiana's soldiers understood him when he handed them their colors and spoke to them those words of fire at parting. They understood him when, suffering in the hospitals of pain, comforts and cheer and nursing came there from the old Indiana home, sent by the hand of their great war governor. They understood him when the soldiers of other States told them how they looked on MORTON as their governor, too. I knew a family of soldiers, Ohio volunteers, yet such was the influence of that matchless man on loyal hearts from every

State that in that household to this very day the name of MORTON is second only to Lincoln as the best beloved of all our country's civil names since Washington. This Napoleon of patriotism was national in his activity. I have it at first hand from authority absolutely reliable that he made many secret trips to Washington to strengthen the decision of the President, perplexed with conflicting considerations and distraught with the double necessity of acting, and at the same time of holding together discordant elements essential to success, which decided action in any direction threatened to explode. I am told that Lincoln declared that MORTON had more influence with that iron man, Stanton, than the President himself. If Lincoln was the great conservative, the genius of statecraft, the scientist of popular feeling, whose skill in the management of men made ultimate victory possible, MORTON was the spirit of decision, moving the President to act when the hour had struck. There was none so great that he feared to tell them all his thought; none so humble that MORTON would not listen to their suggestion and advice.

He frankly spoke his mind to all. That was the secret of his power in public speech. Every thought was to MORTON a conviction. That is the characteristic of all great speakers. The only perfect argument is a truthful statement of your case. That is the method of all immortal words. Christ spoke as one having authority. The Declaration of Independence is not weakened by the expression of a doubt. John the Baptist never said, "I may be wrong." The man who influences men to die for a principle must be an intellectual absolutist. This was the method of MORTON. He was not an orator as the term is used to-day—no tonguey man, no round-voiced, graceful-gestured carpet knight of words. I thank God he was not. Had he been he never could have touched the people's hearts as so

Rush

masterfully he did. But he was an orator in the sense that the great apostle was. Oratory is the telling of a needful truth at an appropriate time by an honest man, who believes what he says so fervently that to his hearers he becomes a magnet of conviction; all else is merely entertainment by a skilled performer upon that wonderful instrument called human speech. The three model speeches of the world are the Saviour's Sermon on the Mount, the appeal of the Apostle Paul on Mars Hill, and the inspired words of Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg. These have no tricks, no tinsel, no flowers of wax; they are immortal in the simple majesty of the truths they so perfectly reveal.

Mr. President, OLIVER P. MORTON was an elemental man. He had the sincerity and simplicity of nature. He was the personification of the people, who are always natural, always elemental, and in the end always—necessarily always—right. All great men are this. They have in them something of the oceans, the mountains, and the stars. In their presence the schemes of schemers seem illogical and absurd—seem like the houses of cards that children build. The road is always plain before these elemental men because they perceive, with the large vision of the seer, whither that road inevitably leads.

Such men have that courage which lesser men call folly, but which history always estimates aright, and to which the people in the end unfailingly respond. They do not hesitate to make their stand. They do not hesitate to act their thought. They do not hesitate to put their destiny to the touch. Indeed, their destiny, their personal fortunes, are the last items they consider. Their cause or their country alone is a thing of consequence to them. Such are all the inspired and inspiring characters in history. Such was Leonidas, such Cæsar, such Cromwell, such Bismarck—such the greatest of all the great,

our unapproached and unapproachable Washington. Men like these found states or save them. Men like these clear the rugged and, to weaker men, the impossible way up the mountain, and, taking humanity by the hand, lead it upward to purer atmosphere and broader vision. And such was Indiana's titanic son, the elemental MORTON.

The world is so much better than it ever was before. In all civilization no absolute autocrat wears a crown to-day. Men's minds as well as bodies, everywhere, are free. The inquisition is so impossible to-day that all its horrors seem the imperfect memory of a dream. Slavery is gone forever, and on the seat of independence, dignity, and power free labor sits enthroned. There is bread for all who work, and what within this generation were the luxuries of the few to-day are the necessities of all. Thought is free, speech is free; liberty at last is dwelling among the sons of men. All this we owe to the heroes of the people—those minds of light and lion hearts and wills imperial who voiced the people's thought, led the people's cause to victory, and enshrined the people's rights in the people's imperishable Nation. And among them stands our MORTON, immortal with the immortality of deeds!

Mr. President, I ask for the adoption of the resolutions.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Shall the resolutions proposed by the Senator from Indiana [Mr. Fairbanks] be adopted?

The resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

ACCEPTANCE OF THE STATUE OF OLIVER P. MORTON.

PROCEEDINGS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MARCH 27, 1900.

SENATE BILLS REFERRED.

Senate concurrent resolution:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the statue of OLIVER P. MORTON, presented by the State of Indiana, to be placed in Statuary Hall, is accepted in the name of the United States, and that the thanks of Congress be tendered the State for the contribution of the statue of one of the most eminent citizens and illustrious statesmen of the Republic.

Second. That a copy of these resolutions, suitably engrossed and duly authenticated, be transmitted to the governor of the State of Indiana—to the Committee on the Library.

APRIL 14, 1900.

Mr. STEELE. Mr. Speaker, I call up the special order set for to-day at 1 o'clock.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the order of the House.

The Clerk read as follows:

SATURDAY, April 14.

On motion of Mr. Steele, by unanimous consent, it was ordered that Saturday, April 14, beginning at 1 o'clock, be set apart for addresses on the receipt of the statue of Hon. OLIVER P. MORTON. (Order made March 24.)

Mr. McCLEARY. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the Committee on the Library, I desire to report back the concurrent resolution S. 37 with a favorable recommendation. The Committee on the Library, to whom was referred the resolution in question, has directed me to report it back with the recommendation that it do pass.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Minnesota presents a resolution, which will be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the statute of OLIVER P. MORTON, presented by the State of Indiana, to be placed in Statuary Hall, is accepted in the name of the United States, and that the thanks of Congress be tendered the State for the contribution of the statue of one of the most eminent citizens and illustrious statesmen of the Republic.

Second. That a copy of these resolutions, suitably engrossed and duly authenticated, be transmitted to the governor of the State of Indiana.

Mr. STEELE. I call up for present consideration the resolutions which have just been read.

ADDRESS OF MR. STEELE.

Mr. Speaker, in 1864, soon after the completion of the present Hall of the House of Representatives, a law was enacted by Congress which contained the following provision:

And the President is authorized to invite all the States to provide and furnish statues, in marble or bronze, not exceeding two in number for each State, of deceased persons who have been citizens thereof and illustrious for their historic renown or for distinguished civil or military services, such as each State may deem to be worthy of this national commemoration; and when so furnished the same shall be placed in the old Hall of the House of Representatives in the Capitol of the United States, which is set apart, or so much thereof as may be necessary, for the purpose herein indicated.

In compliance with this resolution we are about to accept, as a gift from the State of Indiana, a statue of her illustrious son, OLIVER P. MORTON.

OLIVER P. MORTON was born in the village of Saulsbury, then the county seat of Wayne County, Ind., on August 4, 1823. He was of humble parentage, his father being a shoemaker. His mother died when he was but 14 years of age. He was then sent to live with his grandparents and aunts, and was afforded an opportunity to attend school one year. It is not recorded that he was considered brighter than his fellow-students, but he was already distinguished by persistence. At the age of 15 he undertook to learn the hatters' trade, which he no doubt intended should be his life pursuit. At this work he remained for four years. During this period he spent much time in reading and employing every means possible to acquire information. Quitting his trade, he entered Miami University, at Oxford, Ohio. Here he industriously improved his opportunities, not studying, apparently, toward any particular end,

but always more anxious to acquire knowledge than to display it. This was throughout his life one of his characteristics. He was a favorite member of his college society at Miami University and stood well among his fellows.

For want of means he was compelled to relinquish his college work. Returning to Centerville, Ind., he entered the office of Hon. John S. Newman, one of the well-known lawyers of our State at that time, and began the study of law. This was in 1845. In May of that year he married Miss Lucinda M. Burbank. That this alliance was greatly to his advantage throughout his career there can be no doubt. In 1847 he was admitted to the bar of Wayne County, which included in its membership some of the most prominent attorneys of Indiana. It is not surprising, therefore, that he did not leap immediately into prominence. He soon became known, however, as one of the profound lawyers of the circuit in which he resided.

As an evidence of the esteem in which he was held, it may be mentioned that in 1852, at the age of 29 years, he was appointed by the governor of the State to a vacancy on the circuit bench. This honorable position he filled with credit to himself and to the entire satisfaction of members of the bar. At the expiration of one year's service he declined an election to the bench, the duties not being to his liking. In spite of the reputation he had achieved he was not too proud, upon leaving the bench, to enter law school for the purpose of completing an education interrupted by the poverty of his earlier years.

In 1856 the People's Party of Indiana, comprising those who were opposed to the further extension of slavery, met in State convention. OLIVER P. MORTON, who had identified himself with the movement, was unanimously nominated

for governor. While it was apparent that he could not be elected, he entered upon the canvass with that energy and zeal which had characterized him ever since reaching the age of maturity. His opponent was Hon. Ashbel P. Willard, one of the strongest among Democratic leaders, a successful politician, and a fluent speaker. At this time MORTON had his reputation as a speaker yet to make. It was not a difficult matter, therefore, to arrange a joint canvass between the candidates. It had not proceeded far until the friends of MORTON were entirely satisfied with the arrangement.

As a debater MORTON did not indulge in any attempts at sharp practice. He made legitimate points, and elucidated them with a power of direct statement which carried conviction. He ignored every attempt on the part of his opponent to divert the attention of the audience from the vital issues by ridicule and catch phrases. From the first day of the canvass MORTON's followers increased in number, and when the campaign closed, although MORTON was defeated, he had laid the foundation for the political organization which carried the State four years later.

The campaign over, MORTON returned to the practice of his profession. During the four years which followed, his power as an organizer was manifested in the rapid growth of the Republican party in Indiana. In 1860 MORTON and his friends, deferring to the age and experience of Henry S. Lane, consented to MORTON's nomination for lieutenant-governor, with Lane as the head of the ticket.

MORTON threw his whole strength into the momentous campaign of 1860. He was at this time in the prime of his physical strength. His competitor was Hon. David Turpie, an unusually strong man, and, in accordance with custom, a joint debate was arranged between these gentlemen. Their

meetings were attended by great crowds, and MORTON again manifested his exceptional ability as a debater. Stephen A. Douglas had given the Democratic party its shibboleth of "State sovereignty." MORTON attacked this as a catch phrase designed to cover a hateful doctrine, and proved by close logic that Congress, and Congress alone, had the constitutional power to make needful rules and regulations for the Territories.

In a speech at Fort Wayne he said:

The Territories are the property of the General Government, and the right to acquire them will not be disputed. Would the right to acquire, without the power to govern the thing acquired, be of any value? The right to govern, therefore, is an incident of the right to acquire. The Territories belong to all the people of the United States, and not to any particular part of them. They belong to them in their corporate, national, and governmental capacity. This being the case, how shall the people, the nation, express themselves or make manifest their wishes respecting their property, these Territories, excepting through Congress?

At the election the State was carried by the Republicans. Four days after Governor Lane was sworn in he was elected to the United States Senate, and MORTON, assuming the governorship, took upon himself the heaviest responsibility devolving upon any man in the nation at that time, excepting only President Lincoln.

From the first he manifested the firmness and profound good sense necessary to the highest executive efficiency. He had attained a reputation as a lawyer and a politician, but while his friends had the fullest faith in his ability and integrity, they had not anticipated that MORTON would show a degree of executive ability in the crisis he was compelled to face which would stamp him as one of the great men of his time.

Governor MORTON was among the first men of prominence in the Union, if not the first, to declare the position of the

Republican party upon the question of secession, with which the result of the election of 1860 brought the country face to face. At a great ratification meeting held in Indianapolis on November 22, 1860, he declared in a memorable speech that "if the issue now before us was disunion or war," he was for war, and that he believed this was the position of the Republican party. "Grant the right of secession," he declared, "and the Union is dissolved." I will not stop to quote further from this great speech. It is enough to say that it was widely printed, and that it aroused the patriotic feelings of loyal people all over the North and brought MORTON at once into national prominence as a patriot and a statesman.

He clearly foresaw the crisis which was approaching, and warned the people of Indiana and the country of its coming. After the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln he lost no time in visiting the President and holding a conference with him. Governor MORTON was not surprised when, on April 12, 1861, the news was flashed over the country that Fort Sumter had been fired upon. April 15, he telegraphed to the President offering 10,000 men for service in behalf of the Union. It was the first tender of volunteer troops which came to Abraham Lincoln. Under the leadership of Governor MORTON Indiana was one of the first States to put her soldiers in the field.

At this time there was less than \$15,000 in the State treasury, and after our first quota of troops had been supplied with inferior arms and equipments, we were practically without arms, supplies, or munitions of any kind, yet on the 20th of April, foreseeing the future needs of the Government, Governor MORTON telegraphed the Secretary of War, offering six additional regiments, which he had already be-

gun to organize and equip. Receiving no reply, on April 23 he sent a special messenger to Washington to renew the offer. From that day until the close of the war there was not a time in which he was not urging an increase of our forces or that he was not organizing and equipping regiments in Indiana in anticipation of additional demands. During the war Indiana sent over 208,000 soldiers to the front, a larger per capita representation in the field, it is said, than that of any other Northern State.

The legislature elected in 1862 refused to come to his assistance; on the contrary, sought in every way to embarrass him. His message to the legislature, which was considered one of the strongest ever submitted by a State executive, was treated with contempt, that body refusing to receive it. This legislature refused to provide the funds necessary for carrying on the great work of organizing and equipping troops. MORTON was undaunted. A great sum of money was borrowed on his own personal account, individuals and counties all over the State advancing funds to meet the emergency.

Thus was the confidence of the people in MORTON's integrity exemplified. That confidence was not misplaced. Every dollar passing through his hands, directly or indirectly, was satisfactorily accounted for. The best of everything that money could buy was furnished to our soldiers. In the estimation of Governor MORTON, nothing was too good for the men who were fighting the battles of the Union. No man could have discharged his duty with greater courage, more untiring industry, or more lofty patriotism. In spite of the great responsibilities which weighed upon him at home, he found time to visit the Union armies, for the

purpose of seeing for himself that Indiana soldiers were in no way neglected. He was a familiar figure in camp, hospital and field, wherever Indiana soldiers were to be found. He was frequently called to Washington for consultation with the President and Secretary of War.

At this time he was embarrassed at home by an unfriendly minority which opposed the prosecution of the war. There existed in Indiana an oath-bound conspiracy, which sought the establishment of a Northwest confederacy, the release of Confederate prisoners in Northern prisons, the overthrow of the State government by force, and even the assassination of Governor MORTON. Its members were organized and drilled, and sought every opportunity to discourage enlistment and to encourage desertions from the Union ranks. I refer to this only for the purpose of showing the desperate situation Governor MORTON was compelled to face. He thwarted the purposes of this organization by courage and vigilance. As we look back over those troublous times, it is with a feeling of gratitude that we had at the helm of state a man so strong and so resourceful.

It is not strange that OLIVER P. MORTON became known throughout the Union as "Indiana's great war governor." His readiness to supply troops for the protection of Kentucky from invasion gained for him the admiration of the people of that State. George D. Prentiss, the talented editor of the Louisville Journal, said of him :

He has been emphatically Kentucky's guardian spirit from the very commencement of the dangers that threatened her existence. Kentucky and the whole country owe him a large debt of gratitude. Oh, that all the public functionaries of the country were as vigilant, as clear-sighted, as energetic, as fearless, as chivalrous as he.

Mr. Charles Walker, author of an admirable sketch of *The Life, Character, and Public Services of OLIVER P. MORTON*, has well said that—

His heart was as full of sympathy as his head was of resources.
and that—

In every sense of the word, he was the soldier's friend.

It is fair to the soldiers of Indiana that I should say that they thoroughly appreciated his watchful care and attention, and that on every field of battle during that unhappy conflict they gave a good account of themselves. In the language of James A. Garfield—

On a hundred battlefields his name was the battle cry of the noble regiments he had organized and inspired with his own lofty spirit.

In 1864, at the age of 41, MORTON was reelected governor, defeating Joseph E. McDonald, a strong and able man, who was not a sympathizer with the rebellion. Shortly after his election MORTON'S friends were alarmed by the first premonitions of the great physical affliction which afterwards overtook him, and one morning in the latter part of the summer of 1865 he awoke to find his lower limbs paralyzed. The best medical advice and treatment was sought and applied, but with no avail. In further search of relief he decided to visit Europe. Before his departure Hon. Joseph E. McDonald, his late competitor, and Hon. Samuel Buskirk, also a leading Democrat, introduced in the legislature, then sitting, resolutions commending MORTON for his ability and integrity, which were passed without a dissenting vote.

In March, 1866, he returned from Europe, his condition unimproved. In that year a State legislature was to be elected, upon which devolved the duty of choosing a United States Senator. By the Republicans of Indiana it was taken

by common consent that in case of Republican success MORTON should be chosen. Notwithstanding his affliction, he made a thorough canvass of the State. His mental vigor seemed to have increased. The campaign was a memorable one, the Republicans were successful, and MORTON was elected Senator by the unanimous vote of the Republican members of the general assembly.

On the 4th of March, 1867, he took his seat as Senator in a body numbering among its members many men distinguished for eminent public service and for unusual ability. It is sufficient to say that MORTON was soon recognized as a leader among the great leaders of that body, which had to deal with the troublesome question of the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the Union. In spite of the bitterness of the conflict from which the country had just emerged, and in which MORTON was a favorite target for assault, he brought to this work a spirit of kindness toward the South. In one of his speeches he said:

I am, from my heart, anxious for the complete restoration of the South, the upbuilding of her prosperity, and the reunion of all the States in sentiments of love for each other and devotion to our common country.

Senator MORTON was a potent factor in the framing of the important legislation enacted during the period of his Congressional service. In spite of his great physical infirmity he was untiring in his industry and followed the subjects of legislation which came before Congress with sleepless vigilance. As a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations he was largely instrumental in bringing about the treaty with Great Britain under which the *Alabama* award was made. As an evidence of the esteem in which he was held by General Grant, it may be stated that he was tendered the British mission. The appointment was approved

by the Republican press of the country and was a source of special pride to the people of Indiana, although they preferred that MORTON should decline the appointment.

During the whole of General Grant's Administration he was the close friend and counselor of the President. In the Republican national convention of 1876 he was put forward by the Indiana delegation as a candidate for the Presidential nomination. It was readily seconded by many delegates from other States, notwithstanding his physical infirmities, except for which there was a general feeling that he might have been nominated.

He was a central figure in the complications which followed the disputed election of 1876. He opposed the authorization of the electoral commission, but upon its creation he was made a member of the body and carried to that work the same vigilant industry which had characterized his whole career.

With the completion of the work of that commission Senator MORTON'S connection with public life practically ceased. In the summer of 1877 he made a trip to the Pacific coast, where another attack of that dreadful malady, paralysis, overtook him. He insisted on starting home at once. He was depressed but patient during the long return trip. After reaching Indiana he lived for some weeks, during which time the President of the United States journeyed to his bedside to express the nation's sympathy and hope for his recovery. But it was a struggle in which even the physical and moral strength of MORTON could not conquer. On November 1, 1877, he died, his last words being, "I am dying. I am worn out."

He was at the time of his death but 54 years of age. Indiana lost in him her most eminent statesman, the country one of its wisest counselors, and the Republican party of our State

its greatest leader. None has risen to fully fill his place. [Applause.]

It is a source of satisfaction to the people of our State, especially to those of us who were more or less on the active stage of life during the troublous period in which MORTON achieved his fame, to be able to record that twenty years after the death of Governor MORTON the General Assembly of the State of Indiana, composed for the most part of men who were unborn when the war of the rebellion was begun and who were but lads when MORTON died, passed a resolution authorizing the governor of the State to appoint a commission to procure a statue of Indiana's great war governor, to be placed in Statuary Hall, thus recognizing him as a man "illustrious for his historic renown, for distinguished service to the State," and as "most worthy of national commemoration."

As citizens of Indiana, we are proud to know that through the years to come the statue of OLIVER P. MORTON will stand in that great hall among those of the illustrious men of other States, an evidence of our supreme appreciation of his great and glorious service to the State and nation.

He was a courageous patriot, a loyal friend, an honest man.

ADDRESS OF MR. MIERS OF INDIANA.

Mr. Speaker, as a representative of the State of Indiana, I take pleasure in adding my voice to those raised in reverential commemoration of the man whom my State has by honoring honored herself and the nation of which she is a part. The voiceless marble now placed in Statuary Hall will honor that sculptured room as did the living being whose form is thus preserved honor the Upper House of the National Legislature.

OLIVER PERRY MORTON was one of those men whose conditions and environment gave the strength which makes them great, and renders time necessary to bring out their truly admirable qualities without the view being marred by personal or sectional hatred. OLIVER PERRY MORTON was a great man when living, but even a greater man when viewed by the historian. His was a life of turmoil and conflict; his mind rose superior to the ravages of disease and the irritation of constant and excruciating pain. Severe lines were drawn in his face by the pain he suffered, and men, looking only at the face, thought him austere. Those who really knew the man, and not merely his outward semblance, loved him. His heart was as big as his brain, and few, if any, men have been blessed with greater intellects.

His life was gentle, and the elements
So mix'd in him, that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world, "This was a man."

OLIVER PERRY MORTON came of old New England stock, his ancestors emigrating to this country with Roger Williams. His father was one of the hardy pioneers who opened up the

fertile prairies of the West. At the little town of Salisbury, Wayne County, Ind., OLIVER PERRY MORTON was born on the 4th of August, 1823. At an early age he was apprenticed to his brother to learn the hatters' trade. After learning the trade he studied law, and so prominent was his legal acumen and his forensic ability that at the age of 29 years he was placed upon the circuit bench, and there his decisions were marked with such a thorough grasp of law and such a sense of exact and clear justice that he became at once a prominent figure in the councils of his State.

He was elected lieutenant-governor of Indiana in 1860, and upon the elevation of Governor Henry S. Lane to the United States Senate, OLIVER PERRY MORTON, at the age of 38 years, became governor of the State of Indiana. He was elected to this office in 1864, and resigned to accept the position of United States Senator in 1867, which position he filled twelve years. In 1876 he received the second largest vote as a candidate for the Presidential nomination at the hands of the Republican party. It was as the "war-governor" of Indiana that he won the admiration of the entire nation. He was essentially an executive.

An eye like Mars, to threaten and command;
A station like the herald Mercury
New-lighted on a heaven-kissing hill—
A combination and a form, indeed,
Where every god did seem to set his seal,
To give the world assurance of a man.

He worked day and night, and kept peace within the borders of his State when it seemed impossible that there could be peace. When he was stricken with paralysis, the entire nation mourned. It was supposed that never again could his voice be heard in counsel; but while he could no longer walk, or even stand, and although every moment brought intense

pain, for eleven years the great mind rose superior to the wrecked body, and until the day of his death OLIVER PERRY MORTON did a prodigious work in the United States Senate and throughout the State of Indiana in personally caring for the interests of his constituents. He at times seemed merciless toward the Southern States—the friends of Sumner thought him unkind—but OLIVER PERRY MORTON always intended to be just.

No friend ever went to him and found an ear deaf or a heart closed to his appeals. He was strong in his convictions, but when convinced that he was wrong he always acknowledged it and proceeded to repair the wrong. His life was one of constant criticism and censure; he made strong friends and bitter enemies.

He rose superior to all strife—

Like some tall cliff that lifts its awful face,
Swell from the vale, and midway leaves the scene.
Though round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,
Eternal sunshine settles on its head.

Now that sectional hatred has died away and the bitter prejudice born of the conditions of the 60's are no longer felt, we can look back upon the life and record of OLIVER PERRY MORTON, and while we regret that the conditions of his time made him violent in some of his methods, yet we can see clearly, as could not be seen in those dark days, that when OLIVER PERRY MORTON'S soul left the body which had so long been an incumbrance to it, one of the best and greatest men had passed from the visible present to the invisible future.

His services to his State and his nation will live forever in history, while the enmities which he engendered have already been buried.

Indiana, in placing this statue in the National Capitol, honors herself and honors the nation rather than OLIVER PERRY MORTON, for his memory will live without the aid of the sculptor's chisel. Could OLIVER PERRY MORTON, free from pain, have lived the allotted three score years and ten, no one can tell what the nation would have profited by his counsels.

Why this great man should have been so hampered by physical infirmity and his brain racked by intense pain is one of those mysterious problems which men can not solve. OLIVER PERRY MORTON is dead, but—

Death is another life. We bow our heads
At going out, we think, and enter straight
Another golden chamber of the King's,
Larger than this we leave and lovelier,
And then, in shadowy glimpses disconnect,
The story, flower-like, closes thus its leaves.

ADDRESS OF MR. GROSVENOR.

Mr. Speaker, I shall not attempt to speak upon the character and personal characteristics of OLIVER P. MORTON. My presence here on this occasion is due to a fact which I will state, and which I presume no other man present here to-day can state. I refer to my acquaintance with Mr. MORTON and an incident of the early days of the party in Indiana.

OLIVER P. MORTON was a Democrat, as I was. He was born ten years before I was, but had I voted in 1853 I should have voted the Democratic ticket. As I was not old enough to vote until 1854, I began with the Republican party.

In the spring of 1854 I went to Indiana and settled at Lafayette, intending to make it my home; so that under the statute of that State I was entitled to vote at the end of six months. I went to Indiana a Democratic boy; but without going into any considerable detail it is enough to say a complete revolution in the public sentiment of this country took place at about that period of time.

Those of us who had hoped the better judgment of the Democratic party would prevail over the proslavery tendencies of the party were disappointed. The action of the Democratic Administration in the matter of the contest in Kansas and Nebraska between freedom and slavery disappointed us; and so it happened that a great political revolution took place, and it swept over Indiana in that year. The breaking up of the Whig party and the natural antagonism to the Democratic party had produced a number of political organizations; among others, a strong Temperance party and

also the Knownothing party; and then the opposition to the attitude of the Democratic party in Congress upon the subject of the Kansas and Nebraska difficulties took the form, not only in Indiana but in other States, of an anti-Lecompton or anti-Nebraska party—a coming together of all shades and forms of opinion.

MORTON was a Democrat, as I said, and his attitude at that time was a matter of speculation in Indiana. On the 13th of July, 1854, I went with a great concourse of people to a mass convention of all the elements in opposition to the then regular Democratic party. It was held at Indianapolis. It was presided over by Bishop Ames, of the Methodist Church, and, as we are recording history, it might be well for me to give the reason why he appeared on that occasion and presided in that convention.

An attack had been made upon the Methodist preachers of Indiana by the then United States marshal, and among other epithets that he applied to them he called them "itinerating vagabonds." That aroused the sentiment of the Methodist Church, and there came to Indianapolis a great host of Methodist preachers, Methodists, and all sorts of people; and in order to emphasize the positions of things Bishop Ames was called upon to preside, and made a speech. I remember it as though it were but yesterday. It was strong, eloquent, and full of the fire of the old-time Methodist preacher.

It was in that convention, of which I was a member, that OLIVER P. MORTON first publicly made known his retirement from the Democratic party and his entry into the party in opposition. The Democrats in that day called the opposition party the Abolition, Free Soil, Maine Law, Native American, Anti-Catholic, Anti-Nebraska party of Indiana. I copied this

name from a history of Mr. MORTON himself, and nearly all of those names are very familiar to me, because we heard them in the course of the campaign very often. They were repeated with variations.

That was the break that MORTON made, and he followed it up, and there was this characteristic of him: Indiana at that time had an October election, as Ohio did, and within a very few days following the October election he began a campaign, and made a great speech in the city of Indianapolis in the latter part of October immediately following. He entered upon a war against the proslavery tendencies of the Democratic party, and he never ceased his battle. Defeat did not dismay him.

I was not personally familiar with him afterwards. I met him several times during one of the great campaigns in Indiana, and had the honor of speaking with him at two or three places about 1872. I considered him the most available, the most powerful, and the most effective stump orator in the United States. He was not a man of great eloquence, but he was a man who had the power of statement beyond almost any man that I ever heard speak. I saw him last in 1876 and 1877, and heard him last as he made a speech from the balcony of the Ebbitt House, in this city, when, in a rapid and wonderfully powerful speech, he reviewed the whole of the troubles about the electoral count; and he stood there, as he always did stand forth, as the greatest leader and the greatest exponent of the principles of his party that we had in the United States. This was after the electoral commission had decided for Hayes. I believe that it was MORTON who gave more shape and more potentiality to the principles of the Republican party in its formative days and in its days of triumph than any other man in the United States.

ADDRESS OF MR. OVERSTREET.

Mr. Speaker, the characters of truly great men suffer no more by being viewed from a distance than the beauty of a mountain when observed from a point which fails to disclose the smaller hills. OLIVER PERRY MORTON was truly a great man, and throughout all time will be known as the idol of the Indiana soldiery, the trusted friend of Lincoln, and an essential part of the forces which constituted the support of the Government in the time of its greatest peril and the formative period, in which was shaped and established the policies of the reunited States. Whatever traits of character he may have possessed which commended him in the lesser walks of life, and received the approval of admiring friends who came in close contact with his everyday affairs, will be lost sight of in contemplating the larger and more prominent characteristics which brought him into bold relief at a time when great events stirred the nation and strong men trembled under the burden of their responsibilities.

Left motherless at 4 years of age, he was deprived of those earlier influences which can spring only from a mother's care. Unfavored by either wealth, position, or name, he was to battle singlehanded and alone with those obstacles which always press upon him who is educated in the school of adversity. Inheriting strong traits of mind from his English ancestry, he devoted himself to study with a persistency, courage, and patience which never wavered under his indomitable will. The discipline of both body and mind, occasioned by his necessities, became in after years the bulwark of his nature. He who succeeds in the school of adversity learns

confidence and self-respect, which always prove great aids in contests where principles are involved. His education for and early practice in the law, while followed but a brief time, yet served to strengthen his powers of logic and debate, which proved so valuable to him in his efforts in the Senate of the United States, where, from his entrance until the close of his service, he ranked as the foremost debater and one to be reckoned with in all of the discussions which grew out of the great questions that then commanded the attention of Congress.

In some mysterious way, which has always been the subject of controversy and never satisfactorily settled, men seem to come forth on every great occasion peculiarly fitted and equipped for special services which are essential to success within the time in which they live. The war of the rebellion brought forth OLIVER P. MORTON and developed his opportunity. It is as the great war governor that he is best known and loved. Speculation as to how successfully he might have filled different positions, either civil or military, in the period in which he lived would be interesting, because his was a nature which seemed to possess those traits which might have shown equally brilliant in battle or powerful in peace.

He seemed to possess the patient persistency of Cromwell and the indomitable loyalty to principle which moved Martin Luther. His constant vigil, complete grasp of detail, incessant investigation of the actions of his enemies, developed a courage which was certainly possessed in no higher degree by any general who faced the cannon of the rebellion. He who could with intrepid spirit and undaunted and unwavering courage thwart the insidious attacks of the Knights of the Golden Circle investing his own State and, under cover

of darkness and deceit, intriguing against a Commonwealth whose honor and good name he was upholding would have commanded with credit at the Bloody Angle or with bravery have repelled the charge of Pickett at Gettysburg. His methods strongly portrayed military characteristics.

As an organizer MORTON was unequaled. Anticipating the wants of the Government, he acted with a promptness which inspired confidence, and became an example to stimulate tardy spirits in other States. The quick responses with which he met the calls of the President soon made him one of the President's counselors, and he thereby became one of the men who shaped the policies of the nation. The completeness of his conduct in following the troops of his State after their enlistment, and administering to their wants when stricken in the field, made permanent his place in their hearts and added glory and renown to the State he served. Where opportunity afforded, and especially in the earlier part of the war, he made personal visits to the fields of battle where Indiana regiments had met with losses. At all times his volunteer force of physicians afforded quick and effective relief to the soldiers of his State, who, inspired by his conduct and patriotism, had poured out their blood upon Southern fields.

The prompt and universal practice of sending aid and equipment to the soldiers in the field established affection and confidence, not only among the soldiers of our State, but builded for MORTON a reputation among all the soldiers who observed this treatment; which, in my judgment, is one of the most valuable and beautiful elements of a character which seems so full of grandeur. I remember having been told by one of the volunteer physicians sent into the field by MORTON that, passing through the hospital among the

wounded soldiers in search of those of Indiana regiments who had suffered injuries, he overheard a wounded soldier of another State whisper to a comrade in distress, "There goes one of MORTON's men caring for the Indiana boys."

Through this practice of humanity, spreading his kindly and generous spirit over the battlefields bathed with the blood of the soldiery of his State, he broadened the scope of his influence and inspired hearts from other States which beat in unison with those of the men his agents sought to succor. The kindness of his character manifested in such action, the unselfishness of his disposition in the consideration of the needs of others, and the honesty of his purpose in rendering every possible aid to all who were laboring for the same cause constituted the strength of his nature.

MORTON brought to bear upon the great purposes, the accomplishment of which even Lincoln did not more greatly cherish, every faculty and fiber of his nature, and yielded to the duty every element of his strength. His opportunity for good was increased by reason of the division of sentiment in his own State. The greater the opportunity, the greater the success, and MORTON's success was quite commensurate with his opportunity.

"Grit is the grain of character. It may generally be described as heroism materialized—spirit and will thrust into heart, brain, and backbone, so as to form part of the physical substance of the man." The writer of that truth might well have had OLIVER P. MORTON in mind.

It is rarely given to one to demonstrate great strength and success in more than one field. Yet the success with which MORTON managed the affairs of state while governor of Indiana, organized, equipped, and cared for more than 200,000 soldiers in the field, seems little greater than the success

which he met as a Senator from that great State during the period immediately following the war, within which the great questions of reconstruction and the establishment of policies growing out of the war were considered and determined. He brought to bear upon those great questions the same spirit of loyalty, candid expression, sound logic, and courageous conduct that characterized his actions during the war.

Through all of the period from the time he took his courageous stand for the Union and assumed the charge of affairs of his native State until his untimely death he was the recognized and accepted leader of his party in the State, the successful champion of the principles which dominated his party in the nation, and one of the few men who were always to be considered in the framing of policies which affected the perpetuity of the Government. Time has cast no cloud upon his memory nor darkened a single spot upon his record. History will ever record him as one of the great men of the nation, possessing a character which has appeared in every movement for the formation of States or in the preservation of the true and essential principles of government. Linking his destiny with that of the Union, he became the rivet which made secure the position of his State and has earned in full measure the honor his State to-day accords him.

ADDRESS OF MR. GRIFFITH.

Mr. Speaker, without any reference to the issues of party politics, either present or past, I desire to take an humble part in these proceedings.

When I was a young man, taking my first lessons in politics, the leader of the opposing party in my State was OLIVER PERRY MORTON. During his lifetime he was most ardently admired by those of his own political faith and greatly feared by men of opposing views. While he was a man who had strong friends, there was probably no man in the United States who provoked more bitter criticism than did OLIVER P. MORTON. This opposition came not only from without his party, but also from within it. The mind of OLIVER P. MORTON, while not at all times great enough to rise above all prejudice, was yet so great that he could stand practically alone in his own party upon the monetary question and yet continue to be the acknowledged leader of that party.

OLIVER P. MORTON while living was, in a sense, a disturbing element as well as a quieting one. His mind was never in repose, and it was impossible for his contemporaries to view him calmly and dispassionately. He was a man of strong likes and dislikes. He was either overloved or overdisliked. He had strong friends and bitter enemies. He has now been dead a little more than twenty years, and he is now known as he was never known during his active, turbulent life. Looking back through the shadows of the years that have gone, Republicans and Democrats alike can see the real character of the man, and there are no longer any diverse opinions as to the manner of man he was. We trace him back to his early

ancestor, Roger Williams, and we find that he inherited an indomitable will, a force of intellect, and a bravery which nothing could deter. He was a born leader, and in whatever sphere of action he moved he molded both thought and action.

We find him among the quiet Quakers of Wayne County as a boy, and we find that the records of the church show that he was a leader there; he was a leader among the young men when he worked upon a hatter's bench as an apprentice. When not yet 30 years of age he was one of the leading jurists of his State. His course as governor of Indiana during the civil war was one of the most interesting features of the history of our country during that period, and he and Governor Curtin, of Pennsylvania, were recognized as the great war governors.

At the close of the civil war, when a stroke of paralysis completely wrecked his physical being, it was supposed, even by his friends, that his public work was done. It had in reality but commenced. The eleven years of life which his strong will power wrested from the grasp of death were eleven years of constant work and of increasing activity. Wheeled from place to place, in the Senate of the United States, in national conventions, in public halls throughout the country, OLIVER P. MORTON held the people as few men have ever held them. And in his wrecked physical condition, with death seeming ever near, he came within a few votes of being nominated for the Presidency by the Republican party.

Mr. Speaker, old prejudices are forgotten. The sound of hasty words has died away. We can view OLIVER P. MORTON as he really was, and Democrats can unite with Republicans to-day in doing homage to that iron will and great intellect which assisted to restore order out of chaos in

Indiana, and assisted in guiding the ship of state safely through the most stormy waters it ever encountered.

Mr. Speaker, I am glad, as a member of the Democratic party, proud of its history and loving its principles, to stand upon this floor as a Representative from the State of Indiana and testify to the love which the people of my State bear for the memory of the man whom they have selected as worthy of a place in Statuary Hall.

Indiana is entitled to thus honor but two of her sons.

Indiana has been prolific in great men. She has produced men who have occupied higher positions than did OLIVER P. MORTON. She has produced great authors, great jurists, great warriors, and great statesmen; and it is no idle compliment for me to say that the record of OLIVER P. MORTON justified his State in thus honoring his memory.

OLIVER P. MORTON and Thomas A. Hendricks were contemporaries. While MORTON was always aggressive and forceful, Hendricks was equally effective by reason of being conservative and persuasive.

When the statue of Hendricks is placed alongside that of MORTON the citizens of Indiana will have honored two favorite sons that in their day typified the highest character of American citizenship, and by whose efforts the growth and development of our State was such that Indiana to-day honors herself by these exercises.

ADDRESS OF MR. HEMENWAY.

Mr. Speaker, the State of Indiana offers to the United States of America a tribute to her most admired son. She wishes that in sculptured marble a form of OLIVER PERRY MORTON shall remain in Statuary Hall, in order that it may prove an inspiration to all succeeding generations for truth, patriotism, and force of character. The man whom Indiana thus delights to honor was probably the most feared and the most admired man of his time. A staunch Democrat up to the time that the question of slavery shook this nation from center to circumference, he became one of the early leaders of the Republican party, and can be truthfully termed one of its founders.

He was a natural leader. During his boyhood, in the little town of Salisbury, Ind., when working as a hatter's apprentice; and when not yet 30 years of age, on the circuit bench, and in every other department of life, he showed himself a master. When the elevation of Henry S. Lane to the United States Senate caused OLIVER PERRY MORTON, then lieutenant-governor, to become governor of the State of Indiana, he found that State in the throes of insurrection which threatened to bring about its dissolution. Strong men discussed the situation in every county in the State, and none could suggest a solution of the problem which confronted him.

At the popular election the people did not indorse the administration. The legislature was about to overturn the State government. The Republican members of the legisla-

ture withdrew, leaving that body without a quorum. The legislature dispersed and was not called together again. The supreme court of the State refused to uphold the governor. Without a legislature, without any appropriations, without funds with which to carry on the State government, and with the courts opposed to him, OLIVER PERRY MORTON undertook to raise troops for the National Government and to restore peace and quiet at home. This caused a plot for his assassination. The governor caused to be arrested the leaders of the plot, some of them of great power and prominence, and he was not assassinated.

Viewed from our standpoint, nearly forty years after this condition of affairs has happily ceased, it seems almost impossible for any man to have successfully contended against the difficulties which surrounded OLIVER PERRY MORTON during those four years as governor of Indiana. At that time he did not have a friend who believed that he could succeed. He practically never slept. So intense was the strain that after it was over and there was once more peace the great war governor of Indiana was stricken with paralysis, which left him a physical wreck. Notwithstanding the pain he suffered, his mind rose so superior to his body that, hopeless cripple though he was, he was elected to the United States Senate, and was there the leader of his party. He was a member of the electoral commission, and he had received the second largest vote for the Presidential nomination in the Republican convention of 1876.

After the war was over it may seem to the student of history that Governor MORTON was somewhat severe in his dealings with the Southern States. But whether that be true or not, it is certain that those four years, when he had

the entire responsibility of the executive, the legislative, and the judicial departments of the State government of Indiana, he must have suffered so much that he could not well be otherwise than extreme in his views.

He lived in times of turmoil, and was never allowed to rest. He was loved by many, he was feared by many, he was respected by all. Now that the questions which divided the nation are happily settled and the bitterness has all passed away, we can look upon the character of OLIVER P. MORTON calmly and dispassionately. I believe that I but voice the conviction of every man that OLIVER P. MORTON was the greatest executive that any State of the Union ever placed in the gubernatorial chair. His mind was strong, his will power absolutely inflexible. He had no weaknesses which affected his intellect. Those who were most violent in their opposition to the man when he was living are among the most ardent in their admiration of his character as viewed in the light of memory.

His statue placed in Statuary Hall will teach the youth of America to be true, to be strong, and to be patriotic.

His counsels were not heeded by the majority of the people of Indiana when he was their governor. They refused to sustain his administration at the polls. And yet if a list of fifty of Indiana's gifted sons should be presented to the people of Indiana to-day from which to make a choice as to whose memory to honor in Statuary Hall, I believe that the name of OLIVER P. MORTON would lead all the rest.

I do not believe there is a citizen of Indiana who is not proud that the statue of the great war governor is placed in the National Capitol. I believe that those whom he fought so earnestly—and it may be said at times so severely—unite

with us to-day in admiration of the man who, single-handed and alone, could conduct the entire affairs of the State under the circumstances which attended his administration from 1861 to 1865.

Mr. Speaker, in the name of the State of Indiana I unite my voice with the voices of my colleagues in presenting the statue of her greatest son to perpetuate his memory in the Capitol of the United States, where his living presence once exerted so powerful an influence.

ADDRESS OF MR. BRICK.

Mr. Speaker, a great State, renowned in him, to-day answers to the call of the United States and presents to the whole country he served so well the statue of OLIVER P. MORTON, placed in her national hall of heroes, there to be reverently guarded so long as adamant endures and memory wakes.

The man who was known as the great war governor of Indiana, peerless among all the magistrates of those mighty days, requires no other tribute than the simple statement of that giant fact.

And this monument need not be erected for his sake; but we plant it there for his country's sake.

The noblest sentiment of any land is the debt it pays, in its richest excess of tenderest memory, bestowed on honored dead.

How poor and desolate this world would be without its monumental grave, without the quickening conscience of its remembered great!

And so to-day, after more than twenty years of days, with cumulative tense, the public grief bows homage to his name and lays upon his tomb a laurel wreath of glory.

Greatness lies in nobility of mind and goodness of heart, as well as in illustrious deeds.

And OLIVER P. MORTON lived the brief day that nature spares to man, but that day of his was fuller filled with deeds than hours, with palpitating thoughts than dial marks.

His name comes down to us radiant with a land redeemed, jeweled with the joys of hope, and shining bright and clear

in a people reunited, where every man reveres the flag and not one wears a manacle.

This is a generation when kings and conquerors die and naught remains but speechless dust. The end of all is six feet of earth—so spoke Napoleon.

A day when love of man and country confers a prouder name, a grander title than all the glory found in war's grim pageantry of crimsoned conquest.

A day when earth's immortal crown is placed on heads that think—whose proudest epaulets of honor adorn the arm that works—whose most immemorial badge of heraldry reclines on breasts where hearts have felt.

Napoleon spoke better than he knew—wiser than he thought.

To the man who wears the borrowed plumes of ancestry or sports the fading livery of favoritism, the grave ends all.

To the warrior whose sordid ambition may have changed the map of nations, to the soldier whose glory clings round the crown of a destroyer, "the end of all is six feet of earth."

But to the patriot, to the constructor, to the empire builder, to one who learned from mother's lips and father's face and breathed it in from the very air of native soil that his first and last duty was to his country; that to live for her is honor and to die for her is glory—to such a man as OLIVER P. MORTON—for him to die was to just begin to live.

No widows or orphans were made for him, no tears were shed for his glory.

But his grave is watered by the dews of gratitude and lighted by the stars of a nation's love.

History is like the sibyl; she reveals her secrets leaf by leaf. Time and events solve what no prophet dares to forecast.

The price of eminence is a cross and a crown.

To be great is to be maligned, to be misunderstood, to live amidst the curses of the present, and to die in the blessings of the future.

Living, he was a rival; dead, a benefactor.

The grave and mother earth cleanse all.

The man they called a demagogue is now known as a patriot. He whom they named a tyrant history tells us was a man hurricane battling for the life of a nation—his country—the only true Republic that ever lived.

The man they thought a politician, the sage of events reveals to have been an inspired statesman with a soul and a message.

He delivered that message, and in the realm of time it has become a star that gleams and shines on the crowds of countless waves that ebb and flow in human life and round about the ship of state.

OLIVER PERRY MORTON was born of rugged mold, fresh from the soil, a native Indianian. Sooner or later the stock of all great men must be rejuvenated from the soil.

He came from the Middle West at a time when mighty elemental forces were evolving within her.

She had not the proud heritage of New York; neither did she possess the polish of Boston; but she did have the smoke and fire and dust out of which worlds are made and swing into orbit.

And it was from such soil and in this air and sky in which he grew.

It was in the very heart of that land, where in his day the battle of ages was begun, that he awoke to the contest like a sleeping giant.

He continued that contest, a great blast furnace, with

the brain of a Jove, with the courage of a Titan, and the heart of a mother, until that afternoon when he kissed his wife and sons to say, "I am worn out." These were his last words.

But the task was finished, and MORTON'S life work was over.

He was the foremost man in all the nation to maintain the Union. He lived long enough to perpetuate for all time the results of the war.

This was enough for one man to do.

He is Indiana's greatest son.

Who shall say to what degree he is great among the nation's heroes? There are no degrees in masterpieces.

There is one thing we all know—that in one way and another they have all reached those sublime heights of human greatness to which God descends and man ascends.

There he will remain.

His were the days of rock and bronze, of decks wet with blood and men black with trials.

Days of crises and ominous hope for human liberty.

Days filled with the dread music of preparation and impending suspense—music mingled with the muttered roll of thunders and the crash of empire.

They demanded a Colossus, and in OLIVER P. MORTON, they found a Thor.

A nation was to be saved, and there was no time for argument. No disturbing doubt of vacillating ethics swerved his mind when the issues were so vast and the field a kingdom.

Guns were to be bought, an army to be raised, and men to be cared for.

He was first of all the Union to telegraph Lincoln, "On

behalf of the State of Indiana, I tender to you for the defense of the nation 10,000 men."

That was the message of his birth. He filled it with two hundred thousand men and all the days and hours of his life.

It was a message of blood and iron.

To-day it stands a granite statue—an imperishable name.

From that moment he became a god of war, and the arm he raised remained aloft till it nerveless fell in death, "worn out" in his country's cause.

He brooked no opposition; he spurned all compromise.

He had but one passion, his country; but one principle, its salvation, now and forever.

To him firmness was mercy; to bend, a crime.

The Union was more sacred than even human blood, than his own life.

And so he lived, a giant oak, but around his rugged breast there twined all the vines and flowers of manly love; the love of home and country, of wife and child and friend.

We will not trespass here on old remembered days of long ago, when love and joy had mingled into wedded bliss upon the happy hearth of home, nor tell of days when hand in hand they wandered down the shadowy slope in self-forgetting rapture.

There is a love too great for utterance, a grief too strong for sentiment.

No soldier ever had a truer friend; no nation a better soldier.

When they left him for the battlefield his hand clasped every man's—a brother; as they fought in the carnage of conflict, with hearts of oak and nerves of steel, he was their comrade, and in the night of pain and death his ministering

hand was always there, with tearful eye, their nurse and friend.

And then, when over all, the blue and the gray, the smoke rolled away forever, he was the good father of every widow and orphan; he kept green the graves of the dead, and gave honor and relief to the living.

As some one said, in many a humble home where his picture was suspended by the side of the young soldier fallen, the message that the "good governor" had ceased to live would bring sadness as if death had again broken that family circle and once more had chilled the fires of the family hearthstone.

There came to the executive office at Indianapolis two old Quaker friends of Governor MORTON, to get from his own lips news from the front. When they heard his words and looked into that great, solemn countenance of his, saddened by the love of menaced liberty, and tear-stained by the agony of the boys in blue, the eldest one, a man of seventy years or more, reverently placed his hand on MORTON'S head, and with simple pathos invoked God's providence with "May God bless you, Governor MORTON."

Many a soldier has echoed that prayer; the nation has reiterated it.

And, Mr. Speaker, it must be so, God has blessed you, Governor MORTON.

ADDRESS OF MR. ALEXANDER.

Mr. Speaker, attracted by the generous salary of an Indiana school, I became the citizen of a State whose admiration for its war governor was unlimited either by tradition or political affiliation. It mattered not under what circumstances or from what section one came, whether as a soldier who had shared the material blessings of another State executive, or as a son of New England whose ideal of a war governor had developed under the burning zeal and crowning ability of John A. Andrew, he had only to study the history of Indiana to appreciate that the work of Governor MORTON, under conditions confronted in no other Northern State, entitled him to the immortal fame of the Greek hero who lived for the glory of Athens.

During the closing years of Governor MORTON's life it was my good fortune to know him somewhat intimately. I met him for the first time in 1871. Fifty or more gentlemen, representing a dozen counties of Indiana, were introduced to him in the reception room at the White House, and, after a brief interview, he led the way to the Cabinet room, where, without hesitation, and apparently without the slightest mental effort, he presented each one of us by name to President Grant, mentioning some pleasant incident suggested in the previous brief conversation. At first this familiarity created no surprise, but after twenty or thirty had been treated in the same courteous manner, making each one feel that he was a gentlemen of some consequence in his locality, I became deeply interested in observing the work of such a remarkable memory.

He met us as strangers; he left us as friends. It was enough that we caught his smile; that we heard his voice mellowed into tenderness; that we looked into his face, full of tremendous determination, but softened by eyes twinkling with good nature. No wonder that old men revered, that middle age admired, and that the young loved him.

"How to win friends and keep them," says Mr. Forney, "is the secret of a successful public man." Senator MORTON possessed this gift in large measure—not, perhaps, in the same form as that of Henry Clay, whose charms of unrivaled eloquence, of commanding presence, and of great personal magnetism drew men to him in spite of their previous prejudices, but because back of his recognized ability there were strict integrity, high honor, a generous nature, and a smile that illuminated the simplicity and sincerity of his life. "Did you ever see Senator MORTON smile?" asked President Garfield of Mr. Schurz. "No man is arrogant who carries a heart so warm and generous that it creates such an expression. To me his smile is a benediction."

He easily met common men on a common level, because he sprung from the ranks of common people. Among those classed as great intellectually he was the peer of the ablest, with all of whom he mingled with ease and confidence. Thus he was perfectly at home with whatever class of men he happened to be thrown, winning some by sympathy, others by his friendly manner, and all by the superiority of his mind.

Senator MORTON regretted that his early opportunities for obtaining such an education as cultivates and refines had been so limited. His education, although sufficient for most purposes, had been obtained under adverse circumstances, and for the most part after he was 20 years of age. Prior to that he knew little of the choice associations and refinements

which give finish and gloss to scholarship. While Sumner was associating with Justice Story and the cultured men of Boston, MORTON was serving at the trade of hatter and using such moments for reading and study as he could catch in the evenings and early mornings.

What others gain in youth and young manhood he was compelled to learn amidst the activities and bustle of a wonderfully busy life; but nature richly endowed him with those qualities of head and heart which, when once their roots touch a sympathetic soil, spring quickly into notice, attracting the most scholarly and refined. It is conceded that the sickness beginning in 1865 mellowed and enriched his nature, and that his greatest intellectual growth was reached after he entered the United States Senate.

He became strongly attached to Senator Sumner almost immediately upon taking his seat. Of all his associates in the Senate he spoke of him most frequently. The similarity of their views respecting President Johnson drew them together very early after he entered that body, the attachment being greatly strengthened by their service upon the Committee on Foreign Relations and by their efforts to secure the passage and ratification of the fifteenth amendment; but their friendship was based upon something more than the mere interest which springs up between men who meet often or are engaged in a common cause. They were very much alike in many respects.

In sincerity, inflexibility of purpose, dislike of cant, and unflinching fidelity to principle as he saw it, regardless of the men who stood in the way, Senator MORTON resembled Mr. Sumner more nearly than any other of the latter's associates. Mr. Sumner's courage to express his convictions upon all occasions and under all circumstances won the Sen-

ator's admiration no less than his own fearlessness won the admiration of Mr. Sumner. Neither of them knew the feeling of fear in the performance of duty. Had MORTON stood in Sumner's place in 1856, he would no doubt have arraigned the slave power with all the severity of his Masonic Hall speech in 1866, even though warned, as Mr. Sumner had been by Mrs. Seward, that such statements would lead to an assault.

But there were other reasons why these distinguished men, apparently so unlike, were very close friends. Senator MORTON appreciated the scholarly character and attainments of Mr. Sumner, not so much because they made him preeminent in a body distinguished for its able men, but because something in his own nature was aroused and satisfied by this contact with the highest type of refinement and culture. "My pleasantest relations were with Sumner," he once said to me. "His information came from the Brights and the Cobdens of a nation, and he patiently sought the honor of his country through peace, believing that the views of such men would in the end prevail."

It is not unlikely that these long and friendly relations aided Senator MORTON in assisting to bring to a successful termination the vexed questions that grew out of the depredations of the pirate *Alabama*. If ever there was good cause for war between the two great English-speaking nations, it was given in the cruel and inexcusable part which England then played.

Senator MORTON shared the indignation of the American people, and was ready with argument and precedent to show that England must pay or fight; but he never lost the even temper or the patient ear or the generous hope that the better English sentiment would finally control. President Grant

recognized his fitness to represent our Government during this trying ordeal by the offer of the English mission; but MORTON was a born Senator of the true Roman type. His place was in the United States Senate, and he declined the flattering compliment with thanks.

A year or two after Mr. Sumner's death I asked the Senator why he did not take the chairmanship of the Committee on Foreign Relations. "It is not the committee that makes the chairman," he replied; "everybody knew of the Committee on Foreign Relations because Mr. Sumner lifted it into great prominence, but we hear little of it to-day, and few people know who is its present chairman."

But they knew who was chairman of the Committee on Privileges and Elections after his investigation of the charge that Senator Caldwell, of Kansas, had procured his election by the corrupt use of money. Caldwell was a Republican, a man of influence, possessed of many powerful friends and an excellent family. The strongest influences were brought to bear in his behalf. Men argued and threatened, newspapers criticised and lampooned, and old friends begged, pleading extenuating circumstances; but the chairman, always patient and courteous, was immovable. Senator MORTON recommended his expulsion, and Mr. Caldwell escaped only by resignation.

Governor MORTON was a great worker. It has been well said of him that "he was never idle when out of the bed, and often spent the dark hours of the night in thought." His attention to details and his ability to carry them in mind from month to month placed him in this respect by the side of the greatest generals in the field. In 1862 he organized the "General Military Agency of Indiana," whose duty it was to contribute to the welfare of the Indiana troops,

establishing fourteen subagencies in as many different cities throughout the East, South, and West. To supply the means to carry on this work he created the "Indiana Sanitary Commission," with auxiliary societies in every county. Under his personal direction the whole State became a supply camp, contributing in money and supplies over four and half million dollars.

"In all our armies from Kansas to the Potomac, wherever I have met Indiana troops," writes the well-known correspondent of the New York Tribune, Mr. A. D. Richardson, "I have encountered some officers of Governor MORTON going about among them inquiring as to their needs in camp and in hospital, and performing those thousand offices the soldier so often requires." He once told me that he kept informed of the location, movement, condition, and strength of each of Indiana's 163 regiments and could call by name most of their commissioned officers.

After the war his attention to details of party organization was no less thorough. He frequently met the prominent men of the State to obtain their views on public questions and to express his own. I recall several hurried trips from Washington to Indianapolis—one in 1872, another in 1873, and, again, another in 1874—that were concluded before the press was aware he had been out of Washington. He took nothing for granted. It must be positive knowledge, or he had no use for the information. A rumor or report, if of sufficient importance to be heeded at all, must be carefully run down and its truth or falsity known. "I had rather hear a man say it than have him write it," was a frequent saying, "for then I can search his mind."

I have heard it said that he was not a reader. This probably grew out of the fact that he was seldom seen read-

ing. At home he was ever ready to receive callers, and in Washington he seemed always leading in debate or counseling in committee. When he found time to read was a mystery, yet Mr. Spofford, of the Congressional Library, is authority for the statement that Mr. Sumner, General Garfield, and Governor MORTON were the three great users of books. He seemed able, as it has been said of Sir William Hamilton, "to tear the entrails from book or paper by a glance and forever to retain their contents." Yet if a book treated of suffering or oppression, except historically, he avoided it. He once told me that he had never finished *The Scarlet Letter*.

I have referred to the Senator's remarkable memory. He seemed never to forget anything. In the preparation of a speech he needed no index, but called for volume after volume, turning readily to the page, and rarely finding occasion to correct his dictation. In opening the campaign in 1876 he felt obliged to criticise at some length and with severity the public acts of Governor Hendricks, who had then been placed in nomination for Vice-President. His speech was dictated in three or four mornings while lying in bed, without opportunity for reference either to books or pamphlets, but not a single correction needed to be made.

It was interesting to watch his intellection, whether speaking or dictating. One could almost see his mind work as he paused between sentences, apparently pondering the best manner to express the next thought; but when the words came they fell from his lips beaten into such clear, finished sentences that change was afterwards rarely made. "He cared little for the mere graces of speech," said General Garfield, "but few men have been so greatly endowed with the power of clear statement and unassailable argu-

ment. The path of his thought was straight, like that of the swift cannon ball, shattering that it may reach, and shattering what it reaches."

Senator Reverdy Johnson said that MORTON's first speech in the United States Senate, delivered in January, 1868, recalled the great speeches of Webster and Calhoun. General Grant declared that it settled the question of reconstruction.

His speeches were a library of political information, full of compact statement, of apt illustration, and glistening with facts that were impregnable. He grasped and simplified every question, driving home his points with a power and often with an eloquence that never failed to hold audiences as long as he would talk to them. Whatever he said at once became of importance.

In politics Senator MORTON was a master. He was not made to follow. Possessing the qualities that make a great leader—fertility of resource, boldness without rashness, aggressiveness without violence, alertness without irritating suspicions, with unerring judgment and a bulldog determination—he was admittedly one of the most consummate political leaders of his time. Circumstances gave him a most tremendous power, additional to the forces bequeathed him by nature. As the great war governor, whose head and heart were large enough to include every soldier and soldier's family, and the welfare of every charitable institution of the State, whether supported by legislative appropriation or not, the foundations of his influence became deeply embedded in the affections of the people.

How genuine and general was this attachment only those could fully appreciate who had been with him about the State. The people's greetings were not of the formal or usual character, but deeply earnest and affectionate. The

loud huzzas were frequently hushed into whispered "God bless you;" the crowd, eager to take his hand, pressed about him as if some accident had happened and all were curious to see, while scores of women, dressed in black and holding their little ones by the hand, waited patiently on the outskirts until the way was cleared for them to reach him. To such a man, so loved and trusted and honored, the right to lead was cheerfully granted by the many, doubted by few, and successfully disputed by none.

He was not easily moved from his settled purposes, nor ready quickly to overlook the temerity of those who assumed to question his authority or to thwart his plans; but he controlled by the force of intellect, supported by a dominating will, by tremendous energy, by attention to the smallest details, and by the respect and love of the people.

Judge Hoadley, of Cincinnati, one of the ablest lawyers of the Ohio Valley, but opposed to Governor MORTON politically, said of him that "he seemed incapable of deceit or disguise, but conducted his political warfare in the boldest and most direct and manly style."

On one occasion he was informed that a gentleman—long since dead, but at that time a very prominent and able member of the Indianapolis bar; erratic, perhaps, at times, but one of those large-hearted, generous, impulsive men whom most men respected and no one disliked—proposed standing for the legislature for the avowed purpose of defeating the Governor's reelection to the United States Senate.

"I hope he will do it," replied the Senator, with emphasis. "That will give the people an opportunity to say whom they favor." Then, seizing his cane and stalking across the room, he exclaimed: "If he does it, I will canvass every school district in Marion County. Tell him to run, and then throw

open the schoolhouses and churches, that the people may hear us."

That is neither the talk nor the way of a boss. He did not turn to the star chamber or to the caucus. No henchmen were called in and instructions given to find out his opponent's backers in order that by fair means or foul their names did not appear among the delegates who were to nominate a candidate for the State senate. His appeal was directly to the people. "Come and hear us, and then judge ye whether ye be for your old war governor or against him!" Had they met in the political arena, he must have trampled down his opponent like a charge of cavalry; not, however, in a manner to give personal offense, for the speeches of none of the great political leaders of the century were freer from personal abuse.

He belonged to a class of statesmen whose methods and ways were illuminated by unselfish patriotism, and whose leadership was gladly accepted, because, like guideposts, it directed from principle to principle, and always ended in victory and peace. Chase, of Ohio, Seward, of New York, Sumner and Andrew, of Massachusetts, Fessenden, of Maine, belonged to this glorious galaxy. They made platforms, they outlined principles, they blazed the way for a new party which should stand for freedom and union. They were leaders because God made them great and noble, and men instinctively recognized their right to lead.

In studying the biographies of these men I have often compared their early struggles, the obstacles in the way of success, the assistance and encouragement received, and the fierce opposition encountered. It is certain they would have been recognized as great leaders wherever their lot had been cast; but whether another could have accomplished as much

under the trying circumstances which faced Governor MORTON throughout the war may well be doubted. The bitterness with which he was assailed by the enemies of the Union belongs to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, rather than to the nineteenth. It was not criticism; it was brutal personal abuse, often as coarse and cruel as the bludgeon wielded in the hands of a would-be murderer. State pride, recognition of great services and great abilities, nothing seemed sufficient to restrain or soften those terrible assaults.

Yet he gave them little or no heed. Although reviled, he reviled not again. Certainly these assaults did not in the slightest weaken his purposes to sustain the Union and bring confusion to its enemies, whether at home or in the South. Mr. Lincoln is quoted as saying: "If I were called upon to name the civilian who had rendered the greatest service to the Government under the greatest difficulties, I should unhesitatingly name Governor MORTON."

One of the crowning glories that characterized his political leadership was fidelity to friends. It was charged that he carried this too far. The same charge was preferred against General Grant. I do not deny that there was some reason for the criticism; but it is a glorious fault. Unswerving devotion to principle always goes hand in hand with fidelity to friends. These traits have a common origin, springing from a good conscience, supported by firmness, warmed by active sympathies, and guided by intelligence. Senator MORTON could not have been so true to principle and less constant to friends. Who can imagine General Washington casting off Hamilton because of the clamor against him? When Mr. Lincoln put his arms about the neck of Secretary Chase, asking him to withdraw his resignation and remain in the Cabinet, it was an exhibition

of the same fidelity that struck off the shackles from four million slaves.

It is only when we meet in history the false-hearted, the weak, the fickle, the designing, or the wickedly ambitious that we hear the cry of Wolsey—

Had I but served my God with half the zeal
I served my king, he would not in mine age
Have left me naked to mine enemies.

I have said that Governor MORTON never finished *The Scarlet Letter*. This sensitiveness to suffering, either mental or physical, permeated his everyday life, his one continued, sustained effort as governor being to ameliorate as far as possible the horrors and sufferings of war.

When Pericles was dying, the principle men of Athens, supposing him beyond the power of hearing, spoke in his presence of his many victories and trophies; but the great statesman and warrior, still clutching the sense of hearing and of speech, kindly chided them for extolling what fortune had assisted his doing. "Say rather that no Athenian, through my means, ever put on mourning." The great war governor of Indiana could have said the same with equal truth.

He did not always receive credit for such tenderness and sympathy. His tremendous energy, his ceaseless activity, his fearless arraignment of the opposition, his terrible denunciation of atrocities practiced in the South by Ku Klux and White Cap, and his apparent insensibility to criticism, however brutal and drastic, created an impression that he was severe and vindictive and by nature cold and coarse. On the contrary, he was as tender and gentle and affectionate as a Sydney.

The great work of the Indiana sanitary commission had

its inception in his active sympathies, and his eloquent and earnest efforts for freedom found their origin in his deeply seated hatred of wrong and his profound sympathy for the oppressed. He delighted in doing good to others. When a returning regiment suddenly appeared in Indianapolis and found the rain leaking through the roof of the barracks in Military Park, he ordered it into the statehouse and threw open the doors of his own office for its comfort. Learning at the War Department in Washington that one of his regiments had been ordered East, he telegraphed the mayor of Cincinnati to have ready for them "a good, warm, home-supper" as they passed through that city.

His home-life was ideal. The wish of one was the desire of all. Never cloud shadowed it nor frown chilled it. Sickness might invade it, disappointment might enter it, severe pain, endless and unrelenting, might smite it, and calumny, coarse, brutal, and persistent, might pound and clamor at its doors; but the peace, the love, the good-night kisses, and the happy morning greetings of that united and joyous household were never interrupted or disturbed.

It was my privilege to remain often at the bedside of the great statesman during the last two months of his life. The pain, the long, stifled groans, the intense suffering, the pleading tenderness of his voice, weakened to soft whispers, wrung tears from the stoutest hearts; but there was no impatience, no peevish repining, no words of bitterness or of regret. The coming of a friend illuminated the agonized face as quickly as the sun, bursting through threatening clouds, floods a landscape with its golden beams.

To the end his room was headquarters and his life the center of a nation's thought. There came to him the representatives of States and the head of the American Common-

wealth; each day loving and tender solicitude clicked its messages from far-off friends by the Golden Gate and along the Columbia and Willamette; the flowers which bloomed in the valleys of the Tennessee and the Cumberland came as a morning salutation from the faithful Uncle Toms and the sorrowing Topsyies; the silver-tongued and silver-haired orator, whose eloquent words had been heard on every stump in the land and whose voice was only recently hushed in death, sat often by the bedside, holding in his the withered hand that he had strengthened and sustained; and when at last came the feeble and final words, "I am worn out," they fell upon the ears of the learned and loving physician to whose memory came the words of Longfellow to Mr. Sumner:

Good night, good night, as we so oft have said
Beneath this roof at midnight, in the days
That are no more and shall no more return.
Thou hast but taken thy lamp and gone to bed;
I stay a little longer, as one stays
To cover up the embers that still burn.

ADDRESS OF MR. CRUMPACKER.

Mr. Speaker, OLIVER P. MORTON attained to manhood's estate at a time in the history of the country when the greatest issue that ever engaged the thought of the Republic was rapidly reaching an acute stage in its development. Dialectics and parliamentary skill reached the climax of their development in the Federal Congress in the historical and often acrimonious contests over the slavery question. The "irrepressible conflict" had already reached the stage of all-absorbing interest, and the forces were reconnoitering for advantage in the final conflict. The slave interests were represented in all branches of the Government and in party counsels by as able and courageous statesmen and as skillful parliamentarians as ever stood in defense of any cause in any country.

Every measure proposed, every policy suggested, was rigidly scrutinized to discover its bearing upon the "peculiar institution," compared with which every other interest was dwarfed into insignificance. Its advocates viewed with apprehension and astonishment the rapid growth of the free States and the development of institutions inherently antagonistic to slavery. Compromise after compromise had been effected in the hope that the troublesome question would be entirely eliminated from political controversy, but it would break out again with increased fury upon the slightest provocation.

Political ambition, party fealty, and commercial conservatism could not suppress it. Politicians endeavored to placate, but succeeded only in tiding over an immediate emergency,

to witness a volcanic outburst at an unlooked-for point. The question was fundamental, and political empiricism could only palliate—could only serve to postpone to a remoter date the inevitable crisis.

MORTON belonged to the Democratic party, the dominating influence of which was committed at all hazards to the protection of the interests of slavery. That unhallowed system was so interwoven into the social and industrial life of the Southern States that almost every law of general application affected it in some degree, and it was a source of increasing irritation between the North and the South and was rapidly becoming a positive menace to the Union. The growth of antagonistic sentiment in the North was as resistless as the tides of the ocean and as involuntary as the sweep of the storm. The Democratic party was the best organized and the most powerful party the Republic had yet seen. The interests of slavery controlled that party, and the party controlled the destinies of the country.

Slavery became aggressive and demanded new territory to preserve its political equilibrium, and Northern politicians submitted to the demand as far as they could without positively offending Northern sentiment. They became apologists for, rather than defenders of, that institution, and they were fortified in their positions by trade—obsequious, truckling trade—while the opposition was poorly organized and without discipline. But its motive was conscience and its purpose humanity.

This was the situation in the middle fifties when OLIVER P. MORTON renounced allegiance to the Democratic party, the only party that held out any hope to his personal ambition, and allied himself with a movement to create a new organization out of the dismembered fragments of the oppo-

sition upon the proposition that slavery should not be carried into new fields.

He was possessed of an intense nature and human ambitions, but he was a man of powerful convictions. Viewed from his standpoint, the change of party allegiance was a sublime sacrifice of ambition to principle, an act worthy of the noblest character in all history. The world loves to honor those lofty spirits whose life powers were dedicated to the cause of human liberty.

MORTON was a giant physically, morally, and intellectually, and was led only by an overmastering sense of duty. Like a mighty leviathan of the sea, he came forth as the great champion of human rights, and his thunderous voice was heard all over the land. He was a veritable Joshua, attacking the walls of slavery's Jericho with the bugle blasts of his ponderous eloquence. He loved the truth for the truth's sake, and he was the most conspicuous and influential of all that splendid galaxy of statesmen of his time, who placed duty above party and joined the holy cause of freedom.

As an orator, as governor of Indiana, as a Senator in Congress, as an adviser in the councils of his party, he was an ardent and consistent advocate of human equality. He never abandoned a principle or forgot a friend. He was as loyal to his convictions as the needle to the pole. He sought public office only because it would enlarge his field for usefulness. He would scorn to subvert a public trust to personal ends.

His nature was rugged, his ideals noble, his methods practical. He knew human nature as it was, and made the highest and best use of its weaknesses as well as its virtues. He had confidence in himself, and he never

disappointed his own hopes nor the expectations of his countrymen.

His forensic feats were those of a mighty gladiator whose weapons were an intense passion for his country and the ponderous trip-hammer of eloquent logic. He became a Republican at the organization of that party, and to say that he was not a strong partisan would belie his heroic nature. He loved his party because he saw in it a potent agency for the betterment of his country. He indorsed and approved party methods only to make it a more effective agency for doing good; but he never compromised a truth nor sacrificed a principle to gain temporary party advantage.

He had no patience with demagogues or timeservers. He was a leader of men whose commission came from on high, and whose credentials were never called into question. He looked not for pathways in which to tread; but with unerring instinct he followed the light of truth as it was revealed to him, whithersoever it led.

To such noble characters the world is indebted for the establishment and preservation of the Republic.

MORRISON was actively identified with the momentous issues of the civil war, and President Lincoln had no more loyal supporter than he. He was in deed as in name Indiana's "great war governor," whose indomitable will found a way to accomplish its every purpose. He was largely instrumental in shaping the troublesome reconstruction legislation following the war. No Senator was heard with more respect or spoke to greater purpose.

His life is a splendid contribution to that glorious list of illustrious statesmen and patriots who controlled the destinies of the Republic in the greatest crisis of its history. We may pay respect to his memory by the beautiful statue in

yonder hall, the tribute of affection of the great State whose interest he served so well, but his influence will be felt in free institutions, and his fame will dwell in the hearts of a free people long after that elegant piece of chiseled stone shall have crumbled into dust.

ADDRESS OF MR. FARIS.

Mr. Speaker, the name of OLIVER P. MORTON stands without a peer among the sons of Indiana. The annals of his time furnish an ample record of his signal achievements, and my colleagues have suitably recalled them to-day. It does not detract from his fame as a Senator to say that the people of Indiana remember and cherish him most as their unexampled war governor. He was then on their soil, where they could see and touch him, and his gigantic efforts during that period of fire were truly wrought with masterful hand. When the mightiest issue of the age was cast for settlement amid the stern forces of war, his place was with the foremost on the side of the right. His was a conspicuous power to discriminate against the nonessential and grasp and make effective the vital. He did not heed the tongue of calumny and detraction, but made herculean efforts to save his imperiled country. In the matchless scenes of that awful tragedy but one name could have precedence over his with the people of Indiana, and that the immortal name of Lincoln.

It is not possible, Mr. Speaker, with any knowledge of his career, to think of MORTON except as great. His ceaseless energy suggests the ceaseless motion of the sea. Had he continued his life as lawyer and jurist he would have taken place with John Marshall and Daniel Webster; had he chosen the military profession he would have rivaled a Napoleon and a Grant. In the list of eminent war governors he easily stood at the top, and upon his advent to the Senate of the United States he ranked at once the equal of

Sumner and his great compeers. Adventitious conditions did not contribute to his rise. From boyhood his chief capital for his future was reliance upon himself, upon his own integrity, upon his own conscious power to achieve. His was the genius of action, and when opportunity came he was equipped, ready, and equal to it.

In November, 1860, when the execution of the threat of secession was imminent, his was the first potential voice to sound throughout the nation that coercion should be the policy of the Government. Having thus declared himself and committed the State he governed, throughout the unspeakable conflict which followed all his gigantic powers were exercised in the cause of the Union.

The consideration of the obstacles he encountered and overcame in this task adds luster to his irrepressible qualities of mind and heart. In the capitol that sheltered him were State officials hostile to his determination that Indiana should contribute her full share toward the preservation of the Union. Likewise a hostile legislature adjourned without making appropriations to carry on the State government and institutions. In various localities the State was honeycombed with Southern sympathizers, and from these even MORTON'S life was threatened and at least once attempted. But he resolutely ignored the hostility of officials; with a courage that was regal he disregarded threats of personal violence; he borrowed money on his own account to support the State institutions and pay the interest on her debt, and at the same time enlisted, clothed, armed, and furnished to the National Government from the State he loved more than 200,000 soldiers with a promptness and apparent facility that startled the whole country.

While other States were considering plans and enlistments, the Hoosier regiments were taking the field and making their sacrifices for country and for home. Where weaker spirits would have faltered, his great soul was inspired in the presence of danger and necessity. And thus, by the indomitable will and steadfast vigil and tireless labors of her great war governor, sustained by a brave and generous people, did the proud State of Indiana assume at once and forever her merited position with the great Commonwealths of the nation.

Mr. Speaker, it is pleasing to contemplate another side of the life of the great MORTON. The public saw and judged of his conspicuous, his public, achievements. Every eye can see the sun; but the public knew little of the perfect domestic life he enjoyed. While his grasp upon momentous questions was of steel, his indictment and invective against wrong and injustice were heroic, in the sacred precincts of home he was as gentle and loving as a woman. There he found his relaxation; there the perfect rest of the human life.

Linked with the question of the state of his soul he consciously carried to the very portals of the beyond his supreme love as husband and father. It is related that in the last hour Mrs. MORTON asked if he was not afraid to die, and he answered in the negative. She then asked if he loved the Saviour, and he answered, with emphasis, "I do," and added, "and my wife and boys."

I hope it is not inappropriate to reveal in this presence at least a little of the gentle side of this now illustrious man. As a youth it was my privilege to receive his words

of encouragement and to feel the warmth of his genial handclasp.

Mr. Speaker, if it is true that in great stress and emergency leaders of men are reared—and I believe it true—then is it easy to accept MORTON as a gift to carry out the purposes of God among the sons of men. His was a character that towered. It stood through untold temptations and vicissitudes as the tall cliff around whose peak the lightning plays only to leave it the cleaner. We accept to-day the shining marble in yonder historic hall. It typifies the physical presence of his great personality and the pride of Indiana in her chivalrous son. But his heroic deeds for State and nation, the example of his patriotism, his uprightness among men, his love of home, and his exalted character will forever outshine the marble, and will survive while virtue and honor live.

ADDRESS BY MR. CANNON.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Steele] some days ago asked me to say a word on this occasion. In the business of the House and of the committee I have not had the time or the opportunity to prepare anything to submit. But, sir, there has been no occasion during my service in the House where my heart would prompt me more to submit a few remarks than now touching the life, the character, and the services of this great man.

I very well recollect the first time I ever saw him. Away back in 1856, when I was but a boy, during the Frémont campaign, living in the county of Parks, Ind., Governor MORTON was a candidate for governor on the Republican ticket, and there was a great meeting at the county seat of that county—Rockville. Many of us from the neighborhood where I lived, went to that meeting, and for the first time listened to Mr. MORTON. A new party had just been born, and, as I recollect, it required courage for a man to belong to that party at that time, his opponent was Governor Willard, a Democrat, an able and great man, having the confidence of his party—two young giants making a contest against each other.

The new party had just been organized and was accused of many alleged improper things, of being the party of Abolitionism, of Black Republicanism. I said a moment ago that it required courage—that it cost something then to belong to the Republican party. A great crowd had gath-

ered together; and then this young man, MORTON, standing, as it seemed to me, like a second Saul, a head and shoulders above his fellows, not only physically but intellectually, addressed the multitude.

There was but little of applause given him during that two hours' talk; and it was two hours' talk, I recollect—such talk as I had never heard before and such talk and speech as I have never heard since. It was characterized by great intellectual force and power, coupled with great animal force; and during the meeting I could see the people draw to him, and the faith of those was strengthened who were inclined to believe in the principles of the party just born, and were followers of the Pathfinder as their leader; and the great multitude of people—some who had been Democrats, but did not agree with the doctrines of Democracy in apologizing for or defending the institution of slavery, and some who theretofore had been Whigs and were afraid of the obloquy of belonging to the new party—came together, as it seemed to me, almost as one man; and that county, largely from the effects of that speech, the county of Parke, from that time to the present has been a stronghold of the policies of the Republican party.

I again listened to him in 1860, when he was a candidate for lieutenant-governor. A little previous to that time, finding my home in Illinois, I did not see much of him, but I knew of him. He was a great leader in the politics and the contests that were made from 1861, when he became governor.

On an occasion of this kind of course it would not be proper, nor have I any desire, to speak of the party con-

tests as a partisan. They are behind us. Men honestly held views different from each other, not only South but North; views that came with education and environment. This was peculiarly so in Indiana and Illinois, settled as they were largely by emigrants from Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and the Carolinas.

It was MORTON'S duty, as governor of the State of Indiana, to lead in the contest. With nerve and courage through that contest of four years, from 1861 to 1865, as governor of that State, leading the people of that State under most trying circumstances, he gave strong, earnest, and effective support to the President of the United States; and of all the great war governors he was the greatest; and I am not saying less for the others, but more for him.

No man can write the history of that great contest without making OLIVER P. MORTON one of the great characters in it. I think I know that he saved his State from civil war, and his influence was especially felt over in Illinois and supplemented the efforts of the great war governor Richard Yates.

Great men sometimes live and die without being known. I believe there are as many strong men now in the United States, perhaps more, than there ever were before, but many of them will not be known, and will live and die without attracting much of notice. The Republic, in perilous times, when surrounded by circumstances that require great wisdom, great strength and courage, has always found great men to meet them. OLIVER P. MORTON was in Indiana, not only for Indiana but for the whole country, a saving force in that great emergency.

Later on he became Senator from the State of Indiana. I

never met him again until in the Forty-third Congress, when I served my first term here. I took an early opportunity to call upon OLIVER P. MORTON and pay my respects, telling him where I had first seen him and the circumstances. It seemed to interest him, and from that time on my acquaintance was fairly intimate with him. Reconstruction was not at that time complete. There were great debates in the Senate. The results of the great contest were being secured.

I frequently went to the other end of the Capitol that I might listen to the debates. There were great men there. MORTON, Senator Carpenter, Senator Logan were there; and other great men upon the other side, among them Thurman, of Ohio. There were veritable giants there upon each side. Conkling was there, among others.

I do not think Mr. MORTON in eloquence, culture, or polish, was the equal of Senator Conkling; I do not think, in some respects, that he was the equal of Senator Thurman or Senator Carpenter; but as I listened from day to day, MORTON sitting in a chair, unable to stand, but sitting and talking in these great debates, with his great strength and earnestness, his great voice, and his great intellectual force, he impressed me then, and my recollection of him is now—and the reading of some of those debates confirms my recollection—he was easily the strongest and best debater that I have ever had the pleasure of listening to in that great body or this great body, and in making that remark I do not disparage the great men with whom he had contests.

Weakened by disease, he fought the grim monster month by month and year by year to the end by his strong will power, keeping him at bay. But finally the sad hour came when he was to pass from earth, and he passed from earth

as he lived, with dignity and with courage. His character, his teachings, his courage, his intelligence, and strength, long years after all of us shall have passed away, will live in history, an example and an inspiration to those who shall do the Republic service in perilous times. Peace to his ashes.

ADDRESS BY MR. WATSON.

Mr. Speaker—

Can storied urn or animated bust
Back to its mansion call the fleeting breath?
Can honor's voice provoke the silent dust,
Or flattery soothe the dull, cold ear of death?

These solemn questions, asked with such marvelous richness of poetic beauty, carry with them their own reply. They impliedly tell us that the dead are as far beyond the reach of our short arms as are the stars that shine above us in the heavens at night. Shakespeare, that marvelous delineator of human character and impulses, recognizing the tendency in man to excessively eulogize the dead, puts it upon the tongue of his supreme orator to exclaim:

I come to bury Cæsar, not to praise him.

And so, I shall indulge in no fulsome flattery; I shall enter upon no lofty panegyric. For well nigh a quarter of a century he has slept in the cold and narrow house, indifferent alike to the careless shallows and the tragic deeps of human life, above the utmost power of human help or harm, beyond the speech of the gem-laden tongue of praise or the putrid lips of calumny and hate. In his sculptured presence all tongues are silent save those of praise; all lips are mute save those of love. There were sufficient eulogy for his great soul.

It is for the living, rather, that these exercises are of surpassing moment. And so we are assembled in this great forum, with every mournful ceremony of respect, to recall the instructive story of his life; to commemorate the

commanding virtues of his soul; to learn again the heroic lessons that he taught; to draw from his lofty example and luminous patriotism renewed inspiration for the solution of the mighty problems that confront and vex us as a people.

To-day the rivalries and resentments engendered by the greatest conflict of our history are all extinguished, and we can search out the place in the temple of fame which impartial history has irreversibly decreed to him. We can, in a spirit of fairness and candor, determine why Indiana should have provided a marble representation of her greatest son, and why this nation should accept this speechless yet eloquent figure to adorn the Rotunda of her Capitol.

Three forces enter into and determine the character of every man—the force of heredity, the force of environment, the force of will.

MORTON sprang from a sturdy stock—his paternal ancestry from Rhode Island, whither they came with Roger Williams; his maternal from New Jersey. These States derived it from England, and England bred it at a time when Puritans were made—men of iron mold, hammered out upon the anvil of adversity. If, sir, it be true that “the source of genius is oftentimes in ancestry,” MORTON was doubtless indebted to that ancestry for the solid granite of his character, for from them he obtained that indomitable will that met no obstacle it could not overcome, that masterful energy that set no limit to its possibilities, that inflexible purpose that never faltered in the accomplishment of its object, that heroic optimism that in every conflict steadfastly believed in the ultimate triumph of the right.

Like nearly all the conspicuous figures of our history, he was a self-made man. “Orphanage was his only patrimony.” He was not born in the lap of lavish luxury, but was reared

in poverty; not, indeed, that degraded and dependent indigence so prevalent in our large cities, but that healthful poverty that stimulates to action, that sets a ladder for ambition, that gives wing to inborn hope. What he won was his because of genius and of talent, by dint of struggle and of toil.

Young MORTON possessed to a remarkable degree the art of creating opportunities, of fashioning circumstances, of foreseeing the future and molding it to the accomplishment of his purposes.

He was also gifted with that intuitive sagacity that enabled him to seize the opportunity when it did come and profit by it immeasurably; to take the flood tide of the wave and on its crest to ride to victory and to final triumph.

As the gold in the mountain may be hurled to the surface by a mighty volcanic outburst, so some men are brought to the supreme summit of affairs by ghastly revolution. But if no revolution comes, that gold, to be enjoyed, must be patiently sought and as patiently dug. OLIVER P. MORTON could not have remained unknown in any country or in any age, for both in boyhood and in manhood he possessed that overpowering and overmastering will that with a regal stride scaled every height and forced him to the very front as by right.

OLIVER P. MORTON was thrust into life in an era of the profoundest moral apathy in our history. When he was born, in Wayne County, Ind., in the district which I have the honor to represent, seventy-six years ago last August, the fervor of the Revolution had long since spent its force, while the fires of slavery agitation, which were subsequently to envelop and well-nigh consume the Republic, were not yet kindled.

While he was yet in his childish years, Garrison issued the first *Liberator* and "Nat" Turner's insurrection occurred in Virginia. While he was yet a lad, that same Garrison, within sight of Faneuil Hall, in a city which had taught a nation its independence, was thrust into prison for declaring that all men were created free, and in the great State of Illinois Lovejoy, for reiterating the principles of the Declaration of Independence, was cruelly murdered.

And so the youthful MORTON grew and strengthened with the years, "all unconscious of the ominous and threatening clouds in the political sky above, the quaking and convulsion of the political earth beneath," in the future outbreak and final and triumphant culmination of which he was to play so important and conspicuous a part.

At the tender age of 4 death deprived him of his mother, and his home was subsequently made among his relatives.

His education consisted in attendance upon the school of his native village, supplemented by two years at Miami University, at Oxford, Ohio, after which he served four years as an apprentice in learning the trade of a hatter.

There was nothing fascinating for him in this occupation, however, and he succeeded but indifferently. He longed for other and broader fields of usefulness. His ambition was on the wing and beckoned him onward and upward. But the four years of his service here assisted in laying the broad foundation of his character. He acquired an accurate knowledge of men and affairs. He became a student by force and habit. In the debating school he developed into a fluent talker and a ready speaker—the easy master of forceful speech. He became a leader by the bent and inclination of his mind. Thus equipped he entered upon the study of the law in 1843.

His venerable preceptor, Hon. John S. Newman, thus wrote of him:

Senator MORTON came into my office at Centerville in 1843, at the age of 20. As a student he was industrious and thoughtful; anxious at all times to accomplish everything he undertook. In discussing questions that arose in his reading he exhibited a quickness of comprehension and a clearness in statement that gave promise of that success in his chosen profession which he afterwards secured.

His professional career covered the seventeen years from 1843 to 1861, when he became governor of Indiana. When he retired from the profession he stood well to the front.

He was a splendid lawyer. He knew the history of the law, its growth, its evolution. "From the fields of contest in the past he saw great principles arise and take the form of law." He knew that truth is a structure reared only on the battlefields of contending forces; that these truths ripen into principles, and these principles into law. These principles he knew—these larger outlines of the law. He was not a case lawyer; he was not a precedent hunter; he was not an index to many musty books, not "an echo of a voice long stilled;" but in the field of research and investigation he was original, thoughtful, and profound.

At the age of 29 he was appointed judge, and served on the bench one year, when he resigned. He was ill-adapted to the position. His aggressive and combative spirit longed for the field of conflict. He was essentially a child of the storm, and in this great forum had no superior and few equals. He forged steadily forward and upward because of his courage, his perseverance, and his indomitable will, until he became the acknowledged leader of the bar of eastern Indiana—a bar numbering among its members such men as Caleb B. Smith, afterwards a Cabinet member; Samuel W. Parker, James Rariden, Jehu T. Elliott, afterwards judge

of the supreme court of Indiana; Charles H. Test, John S. Newman, George W. Julian, member of Congress and candidate for Vice-President on Free Soil ticket, and Thomas M. Browne, who afterwards represented that Congressional district in this body with conspicuous ability for fourteen years.

General Browne, in speaking of him as a lawyer, says:

He presented a legal question with great force and clearness. With a mind at once robust and critical, he was able to grasp the whole scope of his subject, to fathom its profoundest depths, and master its minutest details. With a quickness that was notable he seized upon the strong point in his case and centered upon it every power of his mind. He fortified it with facts, intrenched it behind with precedents, environed it about with illustrations, until his position seemed impregnable. While he chose with unerring certainty the strong point in his own cause, with equal readiness and accuracy he discovered the weak one in that of his adversary.

No man was better versed in putting facts to the court or jury. He readily detected a sophistry and would crush it into fragments as the "spray is broken upon the rocks." With no eloquence other than the talent of giving force to reason, he was a most successful and formidable jury lawyer. He had a keen insight into human nature and possessed an extraordinary influence over men. With a dominion that was absolute, he seized upon the sympathy of the jury and poured the resistless tide of his own earnest emotions and convictions into their hearts.

Had he chosen to remain in this profession, who can doubt his final success and complete triumph?

But this was not to be. His was destined for a broader field of action. His soul was molded for a more heroic strife. In the beginning of one of the mightiest conflicts of history he was taken from his office to uphold a State. A crisis was approaching in the history of our country—one that would require for its solution the sternest morality and the loftiest patriotism; the grandest combination of heart, conscience, and brain beneath the flag. It was for such

prodigious tasks that his titanic abilities were destined. He flung himself into the conflict with all the fiery ardor of his impassioned soul.

No power in all the history of the world was ever more firmly established than was slavery in this country during the time MORTON was achieving success at the bar. Intrenched behind popular favor, social power, boundless wealth, a cringing state, and an uncensuring church, it deemed itself impregnable. Before this crime wealth and power fell upon their knees. The rich, the great, the strong, the wise, the good bowed low before its cruel might. The men who spurned the Declaration of Independence were called the friends of the Republic, while those who refused to kneel were denounced as the enemies of their country.

For fifty years slavery ruled at the White House, made laws in the Capitol, wrote statutes in the legislative halls, and dictated the policy of the Executive Chamber. "Courts of justice were its ministers, and legislatures were its lackeys." It ruled this entire nation with absolute sway, and with an iron hand suppressed discussion of its institutions. It interpreted the Bible to support its savage code. It prohibited in the free States schools for the hated race, and with hungry hounds hunted women who taught little children to read.

"It tore the Golden Rule from the schoolbook and from the book of prayer the pictured benignity of Christ." Under the shadow of the Dome of our National Capitol droves of slaves with clanking chains upon their limbs were scourged and driven to the market. This system, which, fortified in selfish greed, enlisted to its support the lowest instincts of man, which "transfigured with hate the gentle face of mercy," and which violated every Christian precept, was

such a damning blot upon the fair name of the Republic that it could be wiped out only with blood. Slavery herself hastened the crisis.

Lovejoy was murdered, Garrison imprisoned, Sumner stricken down. The fugitive-slave law—passed by compromisers to appease the owners of human flesh—a law that put a chain on the neck of every man, was placed upon the statute books; the Missouri compromise was swept aside, and slavery marshaled her forces to invade the virgin soil of the free Territories.

But a few heroic men cried out, "No!" and slavery recoiled at the first word of independence spoken to her in all her years of power. But she recovered from the shock and gathered all her forces about her, not only to preserve her own domain, but also to conquer an empire for her dominion. She sought to tear the Stars and Stripes into shreds and from the tattered fragments to construct the Stars and Bars. She sought to crush the Union, and from its ruins to erect a new nation, whose foundation should be the stooping and lacerated backs of 4,000,000 human beings. But a merciful God interposed, the mighty North arose in the majesty of freedom, 2,000,000 soldiers sprang to arms to rescue the imperiled Republic, vindicate liberty, and perpetuate the Union, and after four years of unparalleled conflict the flag came forth with every star upon its folds.

Into this mighty conflict the young MORTON threw himself with characteristic intensity. His early training and association had been with the Democratic party, but when its leaders sought with ruthless hand to sweep away the Missouri compromise he refused to follow.

He had heard the ringing words of Sumner when he cried out to the slave oligarchy in the Senate:

Say in your lofty madness that you own the sun, the moon, the stars, but do not say that you own a man, endowed with a soul that shall live immortal when sun and moon and stars shall have passed away.

And they made a lasting impress on his soul. Above the lightning's flash and the thunder's peal he had heard the clarion voice of Wendell Phillips crying clearly and steadily above the din: "Slavery must be destroyed! Slavery must be destroyed!" He saw and understood. And in the shadow of secession, on the edge of disunion, near the abyss of war, with the air filled with the ominous and threatening sounds of preparation, to the demands of his party that the Missouri compromise should be repealed, he cried out, "No!"

So near is grandeur to our dust,
So near is God to man,
When duty whispers low, "Thou must,"
The youth replies, "I can."

He was unquestionably the choice of his party for the nomination for Congress in his district, and was even mentioned for the United States Senatorship, but his convictions on the subject were so strong that he put aside all blandishments in order that he might follow his sense of right.

He did not leave his party, however, without a struggle, but labored ceaselessly with its leaders in the State in order to prevent a resolution supporting the repeal of the Missouri compromise; but his labors were in vain, and when, amid the hisses and jeers of the Democratic State convention of that year, he withdrew from its midst, they themselves had virtually expelled from their party the man who was to be the most steadfast and the most powerful champion of the Republican principles in Indiana, if not in the nation, for many years to come.

In 1856, at the age of 33, he was nominated by the young

Republican party as its candidate for governor. He was defeated in that contest, but his active canvass demonstrated his transcendent ability to grapple with the great problems which then confronted the people, and his services were so conspicuous that he easily became the leader of his party in that pivotal State, and from that time forward all looked to him for counsel, for leadership, for advice. In 1860 he was nominated and elected lieutenant-governor, but served in that office but two days. Henry S. Lane, who was elected governor, was sent to the Senate, and OLIVER P. MORTON at once entered upon the duties of the chief executive office of Indiana.

Hon. William Dudley Foulke, the cultured and classical biographer of OLIVER P. MORTON, who for so many years lived in the same county with him, thus describes the condition of Indiana when he became governor:

Such was the condition of Indiana; her treasury bankrupt, her credit poor, frauds everywhere, no money, no arms, no ammunition, no militia, except on paper—and even this organization in the hands of officers many of whom were in sympathy with rebellion—a legislature with a formidable minority, reluctant and revolutionary, having the power and the will to stop even the most needful measures of public defense—such was the condition of the State when the most gigantic war in American history broke out, and demanded resources and energy for which prosperous times and undivided patriotism would seem barely sufficient. But the will and intellect of the great war governor were equal to the emergency.

The mantle of prophecy no longer descends upon a successor, but in every age there are a few masterful men who are masterful because they comprehend the true condition of affairs, see clearly the inevitable end from the beginning, and at once discern the surest and the swiftest way to reach the goal. Such a man was OLIVER P. MORTON, and on the 22d of November, 1860, but a few days after the election of Abraham Lincoln, in a speech on the duty of the hour, he

gave utterance to truths so great and announced principles so weighty that it rang throughout the land like a bugle call. At that time the shadow of secession was flung across the land. "In the darkness the bravest halted, the stoutest stood appalled."

Horace Greeley proposed that the erring sisters be allowed to depart in peace, and the sentiment was echoed and reechoed throughout the North. Conferences, conventions, compromises, peace proposals, panaceas, and remedies followed in wild disorder. Abraham Lincoln had not yet spoken. The nation was bewildered. Confusion reigned supreme. The one momentous question of the hour was, "What shall be done if South Carolina secedes?" and brave men answered it with bated breath. It was reserved for MORTON to speak, to formulate a policy, to announce a plan, and he did this so boldly, so fearlessly, so ably, that Abraham Lincoln, when he read the speech, exclaimed, "That settles the whole matter. It states the necessary policy of the Government," and all the North applauded. Hear his ringing words:

There is but one way in which the President can be absolved from his duty to exert all the power reposed in his hands by the Constitution to enforce the laws in South Carolina, and that is by our acknowledgment of her independence. The Constitution provides that Congress may admit new States into the Union, but there is no provision for turning one out or permitting one to go out. A State once admitted into the Union becomes a part of the body of the nation. A severance or secession is not contemplated by the Constitution as permissible or possible.

* * * * *

If we allow a State peaceably to secede, we thereby concede the right of secession in the most substantial and solemn manner. It would be sheer nonsense to allow a State to secede and yet deny that other States may retire in the same manner whenever they see fit. We can not, therefore, allow South Carolina to secede without conceding the right and thereby settling the principle as to the remaining States. The right of secession conceded, the nation is dissolved. Instead of

having a nation—one mighty people—we have but a collection, a combination, of thirty-three independent and petty States, held together by a treaty which has hitherto been called a Constitution, of the infraction of which Constitution each State is to be the judge, and from which combination any State may withdraw at pleasure.

* * * * *

If South Carolina gets out of the Union, I trust it will be at the point of the bayonet, after our best efforts have failed to compel her submission to the laws. Better concede her independence to force, to revolution, than to right and principle.

* * * * *

Shall we now surrender the nation without a struggle, and let the Union go with merely a few hard words? Shall we encourage faint-hearted traitors to pursue their treason, by advising them in advance that it will be safe and successful? If it was worth a bloody struggle to establish this nation, it is worth one to preserve it; and I trust that we shall not by surrendering with indecent haste publish to the world that the inheritance which our fathers purchased with their blood we have given up to save ours. Seven years is but a day in the life of a nation, and I would rather come out of the struggle at the end of that time defeated in arms and conceding independence to successful revolution than purchase present peace by the concession of a principle that must inevitably explode this nation into small and dishonored fragments.

As governor of Indiana he had the most prodigious tasks of her history to perform. Frauds, gigantic and unblushing, were rampant on every hand. With one powerful blow he crushed them all, brought order out of chaos and purity out of corruption.

His State seemed to be the center of the conflicting elements, of the struggle between union and disunion, slavery and freedom. For many months it trembled on the edge of secession, and naught but his stalwart presence preserved it to the Union. He, in and of himself, formed an impassable barrier between Indiana and the abyss of secession.

His record as the war governor of Indiana is without a parallel, even in that heroic day. But the darker the hour the more determined his purpose, the greater the obstacle

the more unbending his will. As Conkling so well said of him, "No labor discouraged him, no contingency appalled him, no disadvantage dismayed him, no defeat disheartened him."

When the Government was tardy in supplying him with ammunition, he directed, without warrant of law, an establishment for his own State, which freely supplied all Indiana soldiers, frequently served the Government, and very often administered to the necessities of neighboring States. On his own responsibility he purchased vast quantities of clothing and stores for Indiana soldiers. He established a great sanitary commission which ministered to the wants of every Hoosier soldier on every battlefield and in every camp. His was a sleepless vigilance. He organized his own physicians and nurses into trained corps, and no sooner had the smoke of battle risen from the field than his ministers of mercy were bending over the wounded and caring for the dying.

"These agents had their instructions to follow in the track of our armies, to pick up the disabled who might have fallen by the wayside; to visit the hospitals, report the names of the sick, wounded, and dead, and afford relief wherever it could be afforded; to inform the State authorities what kind of supplies were needed and where to visit the troops in the field, ascertain their wants and condition, and aid in having their requests for supplies promptly filled. They aided in procuring furloughs for the sick and wounded and discharges for such as would not be able to serve again; in furnishing transportation at the expense of the State for such as had not the means of getting home; in receiving the soldiers' money and distributing it to their families; in hunting up the descriptive rolls for such as had been long confined in hospitals, but for want of their rolls could not

be paid or discharged; in visiting battlefields, bringing home the wounded, and distributing sanitary stores."

He anticipated every soldier's want. He ministered to every soldier's necessity. He gratified every soldier's wish. He made frequent and stirring appeals to the loyal women of his State, and, with devotion worthy so grand a cause, they responded to his every call. The amount of stores and clothing and other necessities thus supplied was incalculable, and the good thus accomplished inconceivable. MORTON himself, even amidst his herculean labors, found time to visit many battlefields and encourage his Hoosier boys. One wounded soldier said of him, after the battle of Shiloh:

I saw the old governor reach out and shake hands with us, and then saw the tears starting out of his eyes as he saw the wounded and heard their groans. Since then I have appreciated his love for us.

He was the last to bid farewell to every regiment as it marched proudly away to the conflict, and was the first to greet it as it returned home, marching proudly to the inspiring music of the Union.

He was the idol of his soldiers. He was as true to them as the magnetic needle to the pole. Among them his name was magic and his presence was inspiration. As Garfield said of him:

The memory of Governor MORTON will be forever cherished and honored by the soldiers of my State. They fought side by side with the soldiers of Indiana, and on a hundred glorious fields his name was the battle cry of the noble regiments which he had organized and inspired with his own lofty spirit.

He was indeed the "soldier's friend" in the hour of their necessity and the day of their distress. And, sir, no truer or more fitting words could be inscribed upon the statue

which we this day present in honor of his memory than these :

MORTON—The soldier's friend.

The labors he performed in this field alone were prodigious enough to overwhelm a man of less titanic mold, but these were the very least of his great deeds.

The celerity with which he enlisted men and organized regiments has never been excelled. No demand was made upon him which was not promptly met. With a population well-nigh one-half of which was opposed to the purposes of the war and one-third of which was openly hostile to the cause of the Union, with treason raging all about him and treasonable organizations innumerable in his State, he yet organized, equipped, and hurried to the front 208,000 of Indiana's loyal sons. On every crimson field their blood was poured; on every trembling slope their valor was displayed.

While these thousands of brave men were at the front struggling to maintain the supremacy of the Union, traitors in the rear, with tireless vigilance, were always organizing, always agitating, always seeking to overthrow MORTON and the State government and carry Indiana into the Confederacy. More than 50,000 men were armed at one time for this black purpose. Indiana fairly swarmed with treasonable societies. There were the "Knights of the Golden Circle," the "Circle of the Mighty Host," the "Mutual Protective Society," the "Knights of the White Camelia," the "Circle of Honor," the "Order of American Knights," and last and most powerful, the "Sons of Liberty." But MORTON crushed them all.

When Kentucky was threatened with invasion, Governor Boyle implored MORTON's powerful aid. He sent troops

flying to that border State, where the conflict was so fierce and unrelenting, to uphold the Union cause. According to Mr. Foulke, he thus announced the departure of the troops:

August 17. I send 1,000 men to-night; 7,000 to-morrow and Tuesday.

August 21. I sent another regiment last night; a battery will go to-morrow. The Sixty-ninth has started. The Seventy-fifth leaves at 6 p. m. and the Seventy-fourth at 9 p. m. to-day for Louisville.

August 23. Will have at least 17 additional regiments ready for arms this time next week.

August 26. The Seventy-ninth leaves Tuesday; will hurry others; Indiana has put 14,480 men in Kentucky up to Friday last; this will make it 19,296 by Thursday, this week. This includes two batteries.

August 27. Another regiment can leave to-morrow; one leaves this evening.

August 30. The Eighty-ninth leaves this afternoon. The Eighty-first and Eighty-second will be armed to-day. Two regiments will start to-morrow, and five more will be ready next week.

August 31. The Eighty-eighth is at the depot. The Eighty-seventh will be in Louisville to-morrow morning. Two regiments leave to-day and two more to-night.

In this way he organized, equipped, and sent 14,000 men into the field in four days.

There was no money to pay bounties; MORTON borrowed it. There was no money for advance pay; MORTON borrowed it. In this way he borrowed on his own responsibility, without security, with no pledge save his own word, many millions of money during that awful war, and at this time alone it amounted to over \$500,000. But the work must be done. Nothing was permitted to stand in his way. His imperial will crushed every obstacle in his path.

When Cincinnati was threatened, the mayor telegraphed MORTON for aid. Instantly the answer was flashed over the wires:

One battery ready with two carloads of ammunition. Will send another train in two hours.

In compliance with this promise he sent 20 pieces of artillery, 3,000 stand of arms, 31,136 rounds of artillery ammunition, and 3,365,000 musket cartridges, all of which arrived in Cincinnati within fifteen hours after the reception of the first news. The manner in which he furnished troops was so surprising that a prominent man in Louisville, speaking of it, said:

If you want soldiers from Indiana, all you have to do is to take some blue cloth and brass buttons, throw them into a hopper, put MORTON at the crank, and they will come out regiments.

MORTON anticipated every call for troops and constantly enlisted regiments in advance. He was always ready, and Indiana regiments were almost invariably first in the field. Besides all this, when Morgan entered the State, he prepared in a single week 20 regiments of militia to repel the invader from Hoosier soil.

He was utterly indifferent to obstacles. His overmastering will could not be thwarted. A hostile legislature, reeking with treason, sought to rob him of his military power and thus bring revolution and anarchy upon the State. MORTON's friends withdrew and left it without a quorum and powerless to act. It adjourned without having appropriated a single dollar to carry on the government. But he was not dismayed. He appealed to the supporters of the Union throughout the State and to his friends in the East. He thus borrowed over \$2,000,000, without a fragment of security, to maintain the government of his State, to aid in keeping the boys in blue at the front and the old flag in its place in the heavens. And every dollar of the sum was afterwards repaid.

He was the earnest friend of Abraham Lincoln, the loyal supporter of Edwin M. Stanton. He never wavered in his

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devotion to them, and they leaned strongly upon him in that trying crisis of our country's history.

MORTON greatly feared the Northwest conspiracy, which was so earnestly advocated by so many of the distinguished leaders of the opposition in Indiana. In order to prevent the consummation of this disaster and to crush the hope of those who fostered it, he insisted that the Mississippi should be opened for the commerce of the Northwestern States, and that thereby also the Southern Confederacy should be rent in twain. Impatient of delay because his cherished plan was not speedily carried into execution, he himself offered to lead an army for that purpose into the field, but President Lincoln deemed his services too valuable as the chief executive of that great pivotal State, and his offer was declined.

The following letter of Salmon P. Chase, expressive of the relations between MORTON and Stanton, will not be inappropriate at this place :

WASHINGTON, *November 10, 1865.*

MY DEAR GOVERNOR: I think it is the right of men who have ably and faithfully served their country to know that their labors are appreciated. So I will not deny myself the pleasure of telling you that Secretary Stanton was with me last evening, and we, naturally turning our minds to the past, fell to talking of you. We agreed that no governor had rendered such services or displayed such courage or ability in administration, and we agreed that your recent services were the most meritorious of all, because rendered under circumstances of personal risk of health and life which would have been by almost any man regarded and by all accepted as good reason for total inaction.

I have seldom heard Stanton express himself so earnestly. I hope you will derive some satisfaction from this little relation. The talk gave much to me.

Cordially, your friend,

S. P. CHASE.

Sir, why should Indiana present this marble figure of her greatest son? Because he saved her for the Union, and in

thus saving her aided immeasurably in saving the Union itself. As Senator Booth well said—

To leave out MORTON and his influence would be to rewrite the history of this country for the last eighteen years and to modify it for all time to come. In the great struggle on which the existence of the Union was staked he held the central fort. No living man can tell what the result would have been had he not been where he was and what he was.

He was elected governor in 1864 and was advanced to the position of United States Senator on the 22d of January, 1867.

He entered that great body at the special session on the 4th of March, 1867, and at once advanced to the front with that commanding ease that ever marked his course. He was the one man who was never required to serve an apprenticeship in that body. On the very day he entered it he assumed the leadership; a position he did not relinquish and from which he could not be dislodged, but proudly held through all the varying vicissitudes of political life until the day of his death, in 1879. And the classical Sumner was there; the imperious Conkling was there; the wise Sherman was there; the profound Edmunds was there; the sagacious Cameron was there, and so were the astute Thurman and the able Pendleton.

Great men were there from every State, but this man, of giant intellect, of granite will, of unyielding conviction, soon outstripped them all. And this leadership was no mere accident. It was not the result of craft or cunning. Such methods he disdained. But his massive ability as a debater, his unbending will, the profound depth of his convictions, the unaffected sincerity of his purpose, all combined to supply that irresistible momentum which pushed him to the forefront and that steadfast power which held him there.

He was the greatest debater of his time—intense, logical, and profound; bold, manly, and energetic. His was the ponderous and invincible logic of a Webster. He disdained utterly the tawdry ornaments of speech. He never resorted to the trickery of rhetoric. His diction was so simple, his logic so overwhelming, that his hearers gave no heed to his sentences. The thought was so prominent that it stood boldly to the front and the words seemed to be massed behind it, crowding irresistibly upon his auditors. It was truth in action.

He accomplished so much in his chosen field because he never vainly attempted anything in speech. There was no pomp of declamation; no feigned earnestness; no superficial emotion. He never spoke until he had thoroughly mastered his subject, until the mind was convinced and the heart engaged, and then there was no affected intensity. The divine energy of his soul utterly possessed him, and his—

pure and eloquent blood
Spoke in his cheeks, and so distinctly wrought
That one might almost say his body thought.

As an orator he was not overtrained; and certain it is that unless great care is taken such may be the case in oratory and speech. The round diamond has no brilliancy. It is only the angle that plants the rainbow in its bosom and mirrors the sunshine in its heart. If too much of the polishing process be indulged in, it loses both its corners and its value.

Language is the vehicle by which thought is conveyed from one mind to another. It is not an end, but a means. If the vehicle is cumbrous, the mind tires in its comprehension and loses the idea hidden within. The gorgeous outfit attracts the eye, but the rider is unnoticed. And so clear-

ness, force, and earnestness are three indispensable elements of successful speech. In each and all of these he was a master. He had an abundant vocabulary of Anglo-Saxon words, those best adapted to the terse and forcible expression of thought; but never employed to so great a degree the Latin derivatives, those best adapted to copious imagery and charming ornamentation. He never spoke to please, but to convince. He never spoke to charm, but to arouse.

He never quoted a line of poetry; he never used an illustration; he never employed a metaphor. Some one said of him that he "turned a brood of thoughts upon the world without a rag to cover them." And while he was not elegant, not graceful, "yet," as Jefferson said of Adams, "he came out with a power, both of thought and expression, which moved us from our seats."

His great speech on reconstruction has certainly not been excelled in that body since Webster spoke. Walter Q. Gresham said of it that it was the greatest effort made in the Senate since the triumphant effort of the Massachusetts man. And yet it was not polished or ornamented with the graces of language. It was a learned, penetrating, constitutional argument expressed in a strain of elevated patriotism, and it announced the necessary policy of the Government.

Others have more vividly portrayed his characteristics as a debater than I can hope to do. Senator Booth aptly said:

As a debater he was an athlete, trained down to pure muscle. In speech, careless of the graces of oratory and polish of style, his earnestness enchaind attention, his directness carried conviction, and there was a natural symmetry in the strength of his statements above the reach of art.

Senator Wadleigh thus forcibly expresses the same thought:

In robust manliness the intellect of Senator MORTON was unexcelled. His speeches were marked by logical force, clear perception, and a

strength of statement which amounted to demonstration. Though destitute of rhetoric and bare of ornament, their massive force almost silenced doubt and compelled conviction.

Senator Conkling thus describes him:

He will go down to a far hereafter, not as one who embellished and perpetuated his name by the studied and scholastic use of words, nor as a herald of resounding theories, but rather as one who day by day on the journey of life met actual affairs and realities and grappled them with a grasp too resolute and quick to loiter for the ornament or the advantage of protracted and tranquil meditation.

Senator Edmunds well said of him:

The graphic clearness of his statements, the simple directness of his logic, and a sense of his sincere earnestness that he impressed upon his hearers placed him among the most powerful and successful speakers.

Senator Paddock thus voices this sentiment:

We, sir, do well remember that with all this blight upon his physical powers the great Senator bore an intellectual lance to the very last day of his career in this Chamber which no adversary ever despised or was overeager to measure. Often during the period of my service here have I seen the whole Senate filled with admiration of him, when, after many days, perhaps weeks, of continuous debate upon some important question in which he had constantly participated, and when the endurance of even the very strongest had been greatly overtaxed, he arose, and with no external evidence of weariness, restated, reviewed all the arguments of perhaps a dozen adversaries in the discussion, and with one great, masterful, overpowering presentation of the law and the facts in the case answered them all at once. When the full river of his speech came down upon an opposing disputant, with its richly laden argosies of fact and precedent, of thought, philosophy, and logic, if his opponent himself were not a master in debate, he was sure to be overwhelmed, for only such a one could stand at all against the almost resistless current of his argument.

General Garfield said of him:

He possessed an intellect of remarkable clearness and force. With keen analysis he found the core of the question and worked from the center outward. He cared little for the mere graces of speech, but few men have been so greatly endowed with the power of clear statement and unassailable argument. The path of his thought was straight, like that of the swift cannon ball, shattering that it may

reach and shattering what it reaches. When he had hit the mark he used no additional words and sought for no decoration. These qualities, joined to his power of thinking quickly, placed him in the front rank of debaters and every year increased his power.

But the tremendous force of his incorrigible will will be best understood when it is remembered that during all of his service in the Senate he was suffering from that dread disease from whose clutches there is no escape—paralysis. No words of mine can add to the encomium paid him by Senator Joseph E. McDonald, who served in that body with him from my State as a Democrat:

“His labors upon the electoral commission during the eventful period when it seemed as if the very foundations of our Government were in danger of being uprooted are vividly remembered by all. Physically disabled, yet he was everywhere present; borne to his committee room, carried to this Chamber, lifted to his seat in the electoral commission by the strong arms of others, there remaining into the long, dreary hours of the night, tireless among the tired, pressing on where strong men gave way, he presents a picture that may well excite our wonder and challenge our admiration and for which history furnishes no example.”

Also the words of Senator Thurman:

Suffering for years from a painful and hopeless disease that ultimately terminated his life, we yet saw him, year after year, perform an amount of labor from which the most robust man might have recoiled as from a task too heavy to be borne. He evaded no duty, however onerous; he asserted his claim to leadership at all times and under all circumstances, however great might be the sacrifice of comfort, repose, or health.

Another Senator said of him:

Mr. President, who of us has not now in his memory, photographed there ineffaceably, that sad, thoughtful, but resolute face, as through the corridors and into this Chamber, borne in his chair by two stalwart men, he came to his daily service? The noisy throng in the passages became silent and gave way at his approach with the same instinctive reverence that reached the gallant soldier who has borne a distinguished part in the memorable battle when afterwards he is brought from the field weary, worn, wounded, and dying. The doors flew open before him always as if by magic. The party spirit could at no time run so high as to cause to be withheld from him when he entered here the most cordial, the most sincere, the most respectful greeting from every Senator present.

He was the champion of sound money, the earnest advocate of resumption. In 1869 he introduced a bill providing

for a return to specie payment in 1871, and made one of the master speeches of his life in support of it. But the time was not yet ripe for that movement, and his measure failed of passage. But when resumption did come, it was largely along lines which he had recommended and which he championed in his speech.

He was an ardent believer in expansion. The idea that his country should play a secondary part in the affairs of the world was to him little less than profanation. He believed in the masterful virility of the Anglo-Saxon race and in the manifest destiny of our nation.

Mr. Foulke relates of him that—

After it had become reasonably certain that Kansas would be admitted as a free State, he was standing one day in his law office in Centerville looking at a large map of the United States which hung upon the wall. He was examining carefully the Mexican States to the south. "Kibbey," said he to his partner, "if Kansas and Nebraska come in as free States, the other States will be free, too, and the present issues between the Republican and Democratic parties will be over. Now, we have a new party and we must have a living issue. The Democratic party has always been the champion of the extension of territory, and I think the Republicans ought to be ahead of them in advocating the acquisition of Mexico."

In 1870, in a speech in the Senate relative to the annexation of Santo Domingo, the cherished plan of President Grant, Senator MORTON used this language, which, in the light of present events, seems to have had the force and authority of prophecy:

Mr. President, the annexation of San Domingo will come. I prophesy here to-night that it will come. It may not come in the time of General Grant, or in my time, but I believe it is destined to come, and with it, too, the annexation of Cuba and Porto Rico. Why, sir, this thing was foreseen long ago.

I will refer to a Massachusetts authority of high character nearly fifty years ago with regard to the propriety of annexing Cuba. Cuba is not now before the Senate nor involved in this controversy. But, sir, San

Domingo lies between Cuba and Porto Rico. San Domingo is the key to the West Indies. It contains the finest harbor in the world. It commands the great Mona passage from the Atlantic Ocean to the Caribbean Sea. I wish to refer to what Mr. John Quincy Adams said with reference to the acquisition of Cuba, to show his foresight and his philosophy. In a letter written by him, as Secretary of State, to our minister in Spain, as long ago as 1823, he used the following language, which I commend to the Senator from Massachusetts :

"Numerous and formidable objections to the extension of our territorial dominions beyond the sea present themselves to the first contemplation of the subject ; obstacles to the system of policy by which alone that result can be compassed and maintained are to be foreseen and surmounted both from at home and abroad ; but there are laws of political as well as of physical gravitation, and if an apple severed by the tempest from its native tree can not choose but fall to the ground, Cuba, forcibly disjoined from its own unnatural connection with Spain and incapable of self-support, can gravitate only toward the North American Union, which, by the same law of nature, can not cast her off from its bosom."

Sir, I regard it as destiny, not to be averted by the Senator from Massachusetts nor by any power, that we shall acquire San Domingo and Cuba and Porto Rico. * * *

I know there is talk about the populations of these countries. Sir, they are friendly to us now, and will rapidly become incorporated and consolidated with the people of this nation in case of acquisition. They will become absorbed in this great people long before the people of Canada will be converted to annexation. The Senator from Massachusetts is greatly in favor of the acquisition of all the Canadas, and I shall be, too, when the time comes, but I tell him that the most unconquerable and obstinate thing in this world is a British prejudice, and that the people of Canada are farther from us to-day and are less inclined to annexation at this time than they were thirty years ago.

When they are ready to come peaceably and are anxious to do so, I am ready to receive them. But the line of demarcation between them and us, in point of feeling and sentiment, will still remain distinct long after that between us and the people of Santo Domingo and Cuba shall have been obliterated.

I remember, when the proposition was made to annex California and New Mexico, what fearful pictures were drawn of the character of the New Mexican population, and yet there is not to-day a more loyal people to this Government than the people of New Mexico.

How striking these words ! How appropriate for present consideration !

He was universally admitted to be the greatest party leader of his time. His ability to organize regiments and send them flying to the field was equally marked in the arena of politics. He grappled his friends to him with hooks of steel, and always had the most powerful and compact organization at his back of any man in public life. He possessed to an overmastering degree the art of selecting the field of contest, of arranging the details of the battle, of telling when to strike and where to strike and how to strike. For one dozen years he sounded the keynote of every campaign, either in the Senate or in Indiana, and his voice was the bugle call which brought the clans into action. He had the remarkable faculty of forcibly putting into language what everybody felt but could not express. And thus his speeches became platforms written in advance of conventions.

MORTON could never be induced to leave the Senate. He was offered the exalted position of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; he was tendered the mission to the Court of St. James; he was asked to enter the Cabinet by two Presidents, but he declined them all.

He was possessed of an idea which dominated his whole life and impelled him irresistibly forward, and the Senate was the forum in which he could compel attention and achieve results.

He impressed his remarkable personality upon every one in his presence. They felt the unseen power of the man. "It was a strange sight," said Senator Ingalls, "to see that old giant lying helpless in bed, pounding and gesticulating and impressing his views upon the committee."

But the two successive objects of his life were, first, to save the Union, and, second, to incorporate the results of the war into the Constitution and the laws. To this end he lived and wrought.

To see the fruits of victory frittered away in a moment of apathy or false generosity was to him but sacrilege. To his mind the war decided that this was an indivisible Union, and that all men are absolutely equal before the law, and he never faltered or hesitated until the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments were embedded in the granite of the Constitution.

With him this was more than an opinion; it was a conviction. It was more than a sentiment; it was a passion. It was more than a theory; it was an inspiration. And to him, more than to any other, we owe those last elemental additions to the great Charter of our Liberty. To this end he brought to bear his power as an organizer, his ability as a leader, his force as an orator, his logic as a debater, his inflexible will, his titanic intellect, his regnant soul; and for this reason, above all else, his sculptural presence is a fit object to adorn and forever sanctify yon Pantheon of the Republic.

I sometimes think, sir, that we of the rising generation came too late upon the world's stage of action. I sometimes feel that it would have been better to live when Washington graced the earth; when Hamilton and Jefferson and Franklin and Madison and all that great galaxy of the world's liberators blazed forth in their full-orbed glory, and when they and their companions laid broad and deep and lasting the enduring foundations of our nation.

I sometimes feel, too, that it would have been greater to live when Webster lived; when Clay and Calhoun and Benton and Hayne fought the battles of the giants; when the real limits of the Constitution were eternally established and the lines of our future progress were permanently laid.

I sometimes feel, too, that it would have been grander to live when the land was wrapped in the sheeted flames of

civil strife; when Lincoln, the emancipator, lived; when Grant and Sherman and Sheridan and Thomas and Logan and a million boys in blue fought; when Lee and Jackson and Johnson and Longstreet and a million boys in gray wrought; when our hillsides were drenched with the blood of our bravest and our best, and all our rivers ran red to the sea; when the indissoluble unity of the Union was forever established and the equality of all beneath our flag eternally settled.

But, sir, I am glad to-day that I am a child of these latest and best days of the Republic. I am glad that I am the heir of all the accumulated glory of the past. I am glad that mine is the priceless heritage of all the infinite toil and struggle of the centuries gone—the heroism of Washington, the patriotism of Webster, the martyrdom of Lincoln, the countless sacrifices of all who went down to the eternal glory of death for the liberty of men.

And to-day, as we stand upon the shining summit of the present and lift the thin veil which separates from the future, we can see that a grander day will soon be ushered in upon the children of the Republic yet to be—a broader, wiser, nobler day of universal peace.

And, sir, it will be the high privilege of our country, realizing that all the past was a necessity and that the present is an inspiration; our country having one flag without a stain, save the blood of soldiers who died to defend it; one Constitution without a seam, save where patriots have inlaid the eternal principles which strengthen it; one hope without a spot, save the sacrifices which must be endured to realize it; aye, it will be the sacred duty of our reunited country, which MORTON loved and for which he wrought and died, to

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move forward to the accomplishment of that high mission for which God created us.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Dalzell). The question is on agreeing to the resolutions.

The resolutions were unanimously agreed to.



